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IN THE
DAYS OF QUEEN ANNE

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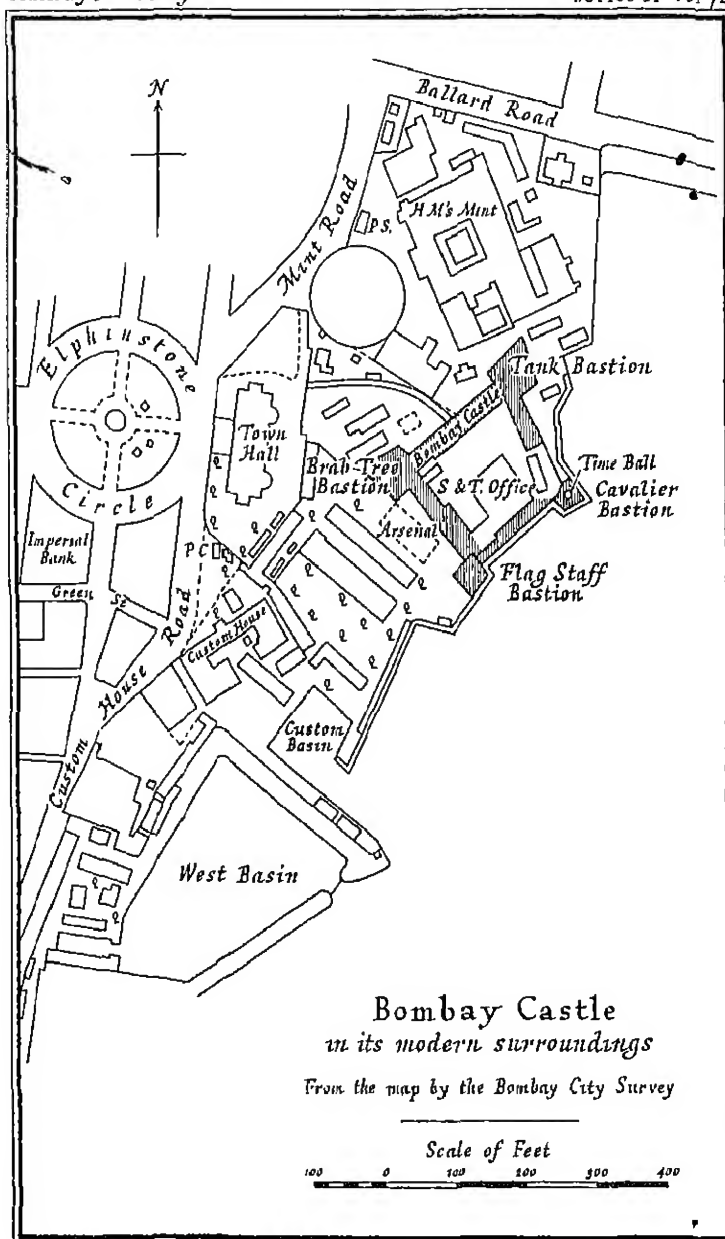
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B O M B A Y
IN THE
DAYS OF QUEEN ANNE.

*Being an Account of the Settlement
written by*

JOHN BURNELL

With an Introduction and Notes by

SAMUEL T. SHEPPARD

Late Editor of *The Times of India*

To which is added
BURNELL'S NARRATIVE OF HIS
ADVENTURES IN BENGAL

With an Introduction by
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E., and

Notes by
SIR EVAN COTTON, C.I.E., and
L. M. ANSTEY

LONDON
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1933

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INTRODUCTION

IN introducing John Burnell to the public it is necessary at the outset to explain why he has long remained in obscurity and how his work has been rescued from undeserved neglect.

In October 1926 I had an interview with Professor F. W. Thomas, C.I.E., F.B.A., then Librarian at the India Office, and, discussing books on Bombay, he called my attention to an item in the catalogue of the Orme MSS. It was the entry of an early eighteenth-century account of Bombay, and he asked me if I was aware of its existence. The document, however, could not then be found and it was only after a prolonged search by Miss L. M. Anstey that it was discovered. It, together with some other papers, had been cut out at some distant date from vols. VIII and IX of those MSS. and transferred to a separate volume which subsequently escaped the notice of writers on Bombay.

Having thus discovered a MS. which is of the greatest interest to all who know anything of the history of Bombay, Miss Anstey proceeded to verify the surmised identification of its author (whose initial only appears at the end of the first part of his narrative and who is described by Orme as a "person unknown") and to investigate his career in India. It must here be gratefully acknowledged that not only is the rediscovery of John Burnell due to Miss Anstey's skill and perseverance, but to her knowledge of Indian history and her familiarity with the early records of the English in India I am indebted for many of the explanatory notes¹ with which Burnell is now introduced to the public.

No trace of the original of this account of Bombay has been discovered. Volume O.V. (Orme Various) 282 of the Orme Collection at the India Office, now "Missing," was

¹ Assistance from many other sources is mentioned in the foot-notes. I must particularly record my gratitude for helpful suggestions received from Mr G. V. Acharya, Mr F. E. Bharucha, Mr P. R. Cadell, I.C.S. (ret'd), the Rev. E. R. Hull, S.J., Mr J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Mr W. S. Millard, and Sir Jivanji Modi.

described in the 1811 Catalogue as "History of Bombay by J. Burnell Esq. Orig. MS. 1257-1710." On this Mr S. Charles Hill, in the 1916 Catalogue, remarks: "This is possibly the original of the Account of the Island of Bombay copied in VIII 17 and IX. 1, the authorship of which is stated to be unknown in the Index of the Selections from these volumes." Confirmation of Mr Hill's surmise is found in *The Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxiv (July-Dec. 1827), where (p. 732), under the title of "Hindu Cremation," is the remark: "the following curious extract from a MS. dated in 1709-1710, containing the History of Bombay writ by John Burnell Esq., lately Governor of Dugarey Fort in that Island, who presented it to the celebrated Ra. Thoresby¹, is worthy of publication."

The extract reproduced in the *Journal* is taken from pp. 2151-2 in the Orme MS. and consists of five paragraphs beginning "When age or diseases" (p. 106) and ending at "despicable object" (p. 108). Although the substance of the paragraphs quoted agrees in the main with the copy preserved by Orme, there are several minor variations between the two versions, showing that they were either copied by different hands, or that more than one copy of the original existed at that date, or, as Sir William Foster suggests, the transcript was made from dictation and the variations occasioned by the imperfect hearing of the transcriber. For instance, in the second paragraph quoted, the *Journal* has "country within land" where the Orme MS. reads "country island"; in the third and fourth paragraphs the *Journal* has "feet bones" and "Jonathan Dun" where the Orme copy reads "teat bones" (an obvious error) and "Joshua Dun." Orme's copyist must have had great difficulty in deciphering Burnell's writing, as is shown by the numerous blanks and misreadings, e.g. "jack" for "tack," "tigo" for "figo," "falud" for "talus," etc. A few obvious errors, such as "fending" for "trending," have not been reproduced.

¹ Ralph Thoresby, antiquary and topographer, died in 1725. He bequeathed his museum and library to his son Ralph, on whose death in 1764 they were sold by auction.

Not much can be related of John Burnell beyond what he himself discloses, and it is not even known how and when he came to India.

There were two Burnells, Thomas and John, connected with the Company from 1635 to 1661. Thomas, a member of the Court of Committees (i.e. Directors) from 1635 to 1657, was alive in 1660. John, his brother, went to India as a factor some years before 1655, when he was sued for debt. He was then Chief at Lucknow, but subsequently proceeded to Madras and his dismissal and return to England were ordered by the Court (*Court Books*, vols. xv-xxiv). If the author were related to either of these two Burnells, his presence in India can reasonably be explained. On the other hand, a chance allusion to a John Burnell, in a letter dated 14 January 1695/6, suggests that he may have come to India without the Court's permission. The letter is from the Secretary to the Council at Surat to Mr Thomas Browne, presumably the captain of a ship, and runs as follows:

These bearers John Burnell and Joseph Pell being willing to serve the Right Honble. Company have agreed to repaite on board ship, where his Honour and Council desire they may be civilly entertained, advising of their safe arrival on board (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. xcvi).

To these surmises may be added the negative information that nothing regarding John Burnell, the author, has been traced before 1711. An attempt to discover his parentage from the Burnell wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury has failed. No entry of his application for service under the East India Company has been found in the *Court Books*, nor is there any mention in the *Bombay Records* of his first appearance in India. Whether he entered the Bombay military service in the ranks, or whether he held a commission as ensign on his arrival at Bombay, must be left to conjecture. Unfortunately there is a gap in the India Office series of *Bombay Public Proceedings* from December 1709 to January 1711, the period most likely to afford the information desired; and the *Public Department Records* in Bombay itself date only from 1720.

What then is definitely known of John Burnell, apart from what he discloses in his accounts of Bombay and Bengal?

At a consultation held in Bombay Castle on 6 April 1711 occurs the first reference¹ to him:

Ensign John Burnell having deliver'd up his Commission to the Generall [William Aislabie], and requesting he might go for England on the *Tankerville*, it is agreed that two orders be now wrote and signed, one for Mr John Burnell to deliver, the other to Lieutenant Owen Davies to receive, the charge of Dungaees Fort.

The packet of the *Tankerville*, Captain Charles Newnam, was duly made up, and she started on her homeward voyage early in May 1711. On 22 July, however, she anchored at Fort St George, Madras, where Captain Newnam was summoned before the Council² and desired to give his reasons for "not proceeding his intended voyage." He stated that he had sailed from Bombay on 4 May 1711, had hoped to reach the Cape, but had experienced bad weather in 12° S. latitude. This had prevented him from gaining his passage, and, as he did not dare to go to Mauritius, a resort of the French with whom England was at war, and a piratical base, he bore up on 21 June and sailed for Madras. He expressed his intention of proceeding on his voyage as soon as he had provisioned and watered his ship. On 26 July he informed the Fort St George Council that he would sail for Europe by 7 or 8 August "at farthest." Eventually, the *Tankerville* waited for the *Des Bouverie* and both ships left Madras Road on 4 September 1711.

While in Madras, John Burnell must have altered his intention of going home, for on 17 September the following entry appears in the *Madras Consultation Book*:

Having never an ensign fitt to do duty in this garrison, we have entertained Mr John Burnell, late ensign at Bombay, who came hither on account of his health, a person well skill'd in drawing and has some knowledge in fortification.

And in the abstract of the General Letter to the Company

¹ *Bombay Public Proceedings*, vol. IV.

² *Madras Public Proceedings*, vol. LXXXV.

of 13 October 1711¹ the Council thus reported their action to the Directors:

Mr John Burnell, who was an ensign at Bombay, having some skill in fortification, [we] have entertained [as] an ensign; shall use him about the buildings and repairs.

There is no record of Burnell's movements during the next few months. But it is certain that he fell from grace. Patriotic citizens of Bombay may adorn the tale with the reflection that it was the evil communications of Madras which corrupted his good manners. It is at least beyond doubt that he failed to retain the good opinion of the authorities in Madras, and at a consultation held at Fort St George on 27 May 1712, is the pathetic entry²:

Ensign John Burnell having been guilty of several disorders, such as intemperate drinking, abusing the freemen and Company's servants, and disobedience to his superior officers, and the President acquainting the Board that he had severall times pardoned him in hopes of amendment, but in vain:

Ordered that he be dismissed the Service and rendered incapable for the future.

The Company was informed of Burnell's irregularities in para. 148 of a summarized letter from Madras of 14 October 1712³: "John Burnell, formerly entertained ensign, proving an insolent offender, dismiss."

The "offender" now turned his attention to Bengal, and he tells his own story from November 1712, in a MS. also preserved in the Orme Collection, the authorship of which has hitherto been unknown. It was printed in full, with notes by Sir Evan Cotton, in *Bengal Past and Present* (vol. xxxvi, pt. II, Oct.-Dec. 1923) under the title of "An Adventurer in Bengal"; and by the permission of Sir Evan it is here reprinted.

The MS. breaks off abruptly in January 1712/13, when Burnell was about to go to Murshidābād, and no further

¹ *Coast and Bay Abstracts*, vol. I.

² *Madras Public Proceedings*, vol. LXXXVI.

³ *Coast and Bay Abstracts*, vol. I.

record of his movements has been discovered until he reappears in a consultation at Fort William on 1 February 1713/14 as a map-maker¹:

Mr John Burnell having with great care and ingenuity perfected a Map of the World in two rounds 6 foot 2 inches diameter, curiously embellished with gold and silver, and title and names of places being all wrote in Persian to make a proper and acceptable present for the Great Mogull, which having cost many months time, a reward for his pains being consider'd of, we unanimously agree that he well deserves, and therefore do order that a reward of rupees 200 in mony be given to him, and that he have leave to go to England in the *King William* without paying the usuall £12 for his passage, that priviledge being due to him by the Companys order, he having served in the soldiery at Bombay and got an honourable discharge from that service.

The above incident was also reported to the Court of Directors by the Bengal Council in para. 23 of their letter of 17 February 1713/14².

The *King William*, Captain Nehemiah Winter, sailed from Cocks' Island for England on 26 February 1713/14³, her passengers having come aboard on the 21st, but Burnell's name does not appear among them nor is he mentioned throughout the voyage. No allusion to him in the home records of the Company after the arrival of the vessel has been discovered, nor has the date of his death been ascertained.

From the description of the Map of the World drawn by Burnell it might be inferred that he had acquired some knowledge of the Persian language, but the Company's General Letter to Bengal of 12 January 1714/15⁴ disposes of that idea. In para. 69 the Court of Directors write:

In your letter of the 17 February, para. 23, you mention to have given Mr John Burnell two hundred rupees for a large Map of the World and the names of all places wrote in Persians, which was to be part of the present. This we took by the manner of expression to be the whole charge of that map, but on looking over the Consultation

¹ *Bengal Public Proceedings*, vol. 1. Also printed in *Early Annals of Bengal*, by C. R. Wilson, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 160.

² *Coast and Bay Abstracts*, vol. 1, pp. 474-5.

³ *Marine Records, Logs*, vol. 635 A.

⁴ *Letter Book*, vol. xv, p. 471.

of the 4th January, we find two hundred rupees in money and goods were paid Mirza Ibrahim for writing the Persian names to it. We mention this to show you we would have every thing set in its true light, for whether it be worth as much or not, we can't here determine; but since it cost so much more, you should have told us so.

That exhausts the references to Burnell that have been discovered in the official records. He is fortunately revealed, in outline at any rate, in his writings.

Burnell's description of Bombay takes the form of two letters to his father. The first and by far the longer bears no superscription, but is signed "Your obedient son, J. [a flourish]." The second begins "Sir," and alludes to the previous letter, but ends abruptly with no signature¹. The date of the first document is 12 May 1710. It was apparently completed a little later in the year, for he writes (p. 80) that when he left the Island "they were about damming up" the breach between Māhim and Worli. That was somewhere about the end of 1710, as we learn from *Bombay Abstracts*, vol. 1, p. 157. The second letter is undated but must have been written after Burnell had left India, for, describing the inhabitants of Bombay, he says (p. 93): "Of the Moors I shall treat of elsewhere, having had more convenient opportunity to inspect into their manners whilst I was about amongst them in Bengal." A more definite clue to the date of the second letter is to be found in his allusion to the death of "Joshua Dun, the Company's broker in Bengal" (p. 107), for that event occurred in February 1711/12. As stated in his account of his adventures in Bengal, Burnell was in that part of India from November 1712 until the following January. It was after that date that he wrote, or completed, the narratives that are here published.

Burnell, it is important to remember, was not the first writer to describe Bombay. The task had been undertaken

¹ Where the "Account" ends in the Orme copy (p. 116 of this volume), a line is ruled and then follows "The Index," occupying about three-quarters of a folio page and consisting of only seventy-eight entries, ending at p. 2132 of the MS. It is not likely that this imperfect index is the work of Burnell.

by Gerald Aungier in 1673¹; by Dr John Fryer in 1674-5²; by the Rev. J. Ovington in 1690³; and by Captain Alexander Hamilton, who, though contemporary with Burnell, did not publish his experiences until 1727⁴. The first of those accounts was probably unknown to our author; the second he had apparently seen; but it is of Ovington's only that he makes any appreciable use, and that chiefly in describing and commenting upon the peoples of Bombay and their customs. The topographical account given by Burnell appears to be based on his own observations, except when he borrows from *The English Pilot* certain details about the harbour and the islands in it. His scheme was wider than that adopted by Governor Aungier and still more general than that of Fryer, Ovington and Hamilton, whose descriptions of Bombay, though of great interest, were only incidental in their books of travel. Therein lies the importance of Burnell's work, an importance which, it is safe to predict, will become increasingly apparent as future historians of Bombay make use of it. Unhappily Burnell wrote at a time when the fortunes of Bombay were very low, but, as will be shown, the tide was turning.

The Bombay that Burnell knew had deteriorated from the state of prosperity described a few years earlier by Fryer. It had, for example, suffered—though not so badly as Surat—from the dissensions between the Old and the New East India Companies. The union of the Companies had taken place in 1709, and its beneficial effect can scarcely have been felt in Bombay in the following year, 1710, when Burnell served there. When Sir Nicholas Waite reached Bombay from Surat in 1704, he implored the Court to have his “sonn to be

¹ Contained in *O.C.* 3910 and *Home Series, Misc.* vol. XXI. This account, though quoted in the *Bombay Gazetteer* and in the *Bombay City Gazetteer*, was not published in full until 1931, when it appeared in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.*, with notes by Sir Charles Fawcett.

² The description is contained in *A New Account of East India and Persia*, etc. by John Fryer London, 1698. Edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir William Crooke, 1909-15.

³ *A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, by J. Ovington 1696. Edited for the Oxford University Press by H. G. Rawlinson, 1929.

⁴ *A New Account of the East Indies*. Edinburgh, 1727 Edited for the Argonaut Press by Sir William Foster, 1930.

settled in the Bay [i.e. Bengal] rather than in this place of mortality, without shipping or as yet trade." There were then on the Island but eight covenanted civilians, including members of Council, two persons more who could write, and two youths taken from the ships. The garrison consisted of six commissioned officers and not quite forty English soldiers. Civilians and soldiers were all suffering from illness. "It will be morally impossible," writes one of them, "to continue much longer from going under ground, if we have not a large assistance out before October." For three years Waite ruled the "very unhealthfull Island," when his services were discontinued and the Company acknowledged the zeal that he had shown for their interest and thanked him for his services¹.

During the governorship of William Aislabie, who succeeded Sir Nicholas in 1708, up to the date of Charles Boone's arrival in 1715, the Island was continually menaced by European and Indian enemies, and the progress of trade was hampered by an impoverished treasury and by internal disagreements. The letters and documents of the last quarter of the seventeenth and the opening years of the eighteenth centuries portray the anxiety felt both by the Court of Directors and the Bombay Council at the power of the Sidi, the pirates, the Marāthas, the Mughal government and the Portuguese².

By 1681 Shivājī and his rival were in possession of Henery and Kenery, whereby "the administration of the island of Bombay has been the most difficult as well as the most embarrassing part of our duty." Sambhājī's "twelve armed gallivats" interrupted trade; the presence of the Mughal fleet exposed the Island to sudden attack. The Bombay Council had no alternative but to try to keep peace with both Marātha and Musalmān, and determined not to precipitate a struggle with "the Shivajis" as long as they were powerful enough to seize Bombay boats, as in 1701, and insist upon making Bombay the arena of their conflicts with the

¹ *Selections from the Letters etc. in the Bombay Secretariat*. Home Series, vol. I, p. xxviii

² The following summarized account of the decline of Bombay is drawn from the *Bombay City Gazetteer*, vol. II, pp. 90-91.

Sidī Admiral of the Great Mughal. There were French alarms also—reports of “three French ships that lay at anchor off Old Women’s Island, weighed and betook themselves to a clean pair of heels,” and portents in the shape of a Danish fleet which, cruising too near the Island, “hindered our trade and made our merchants fearful of going to sea.” In consequence of these circumstances the population of Bombay decreased, the Company’s coffers were gradually depleted, the defences of the Island were neglected, and trade languished.

After the union of the two Companies trade quickly began to revive. “Whereas for the five years 1708-9 to 1712-13 on an average eleven ships were dispatched annually to the East, for the similar period between 1743-4 and 1747-8 the number was twenty per annum, of much larger tonnage¹.” In Burnell’s time trade with England had not reached proportions notable enough for him to record them, but there was, as he remarks (p. 27), “a pretty good trade drove with small craft” in various foodstuffs and cotton. More obvious to Burnell than the possibilities of trade were the signs of Bombay being converted from seven islands into one, the beginning of that great epic of reclamation which has been in progress for two and a half centuries and of which the end is not yet in sight.

Forty years or so had passed since the project of reclamation had first been seriously raised and it had been suggested, in 1668, that the work could, “in the judgment of sober men,” be done for £1000 or £1200 “and the inhabitants affirme that in three yeares lying wast, onely casting upp the earth once a yeare, it will make good arable land as any uppon the Island; and should it not, the ground would be usefull many other wayes, for there is want of it” (*Factory Records, Misc.* vol. II, p. 31). The project had been bandied about and examined from every point of view; the estimates had been questioned; and Aungier and some of his colleagues had very sportingly offered to carry out a small reclamation if the land might be vested in them and their heirs; but work was not really started until 1710. Before that date only various small

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v, p. 109.

marginal reclamations had been carried out. "Severall parcell[s] [were] gain'd from the sea, some of which were made use of for battee [rice] and some for salt; but in the time of the warr a great many banks were destroyed" (Letter from Bombay 12 January 1697/8, *Factory Records, Bombay*, vol. xiv). The Breaches—as the inlets of the sea were always called—that were first tackled were those in the north, between Sion and Dharāvī, between Māhīm and Dharāvī, and between Māhīm and Worlī. These were completed in 1710 and the following year (*Bombay Abstracts*, vol. 1, p. 168). Work was begun on the Great Breach between Worlī and what is now called Mahālxmi, but the attempt to close it with a wall built in a straight line, taking in the little island on which Hājī Alī's dargah now stands, was a failure and had to be abandoned. The wall on the present semi-circular alignment was planned by Captain Elias Bates in 1719 (*Bombay Abstracts*, vol. 1, p. 351) and was finished about four years later, long before the time of Governor Hornby (1771–1774), whose name has unaccountably been given to the "Vellard" which closed the Great Breach.

Burnell makes no mention of the attempts to close the Great Breach, though he notes how the sea came through it almost to the foot of the hills on the eastern side of the Island (p. 56). Of the "noble large dam" between Sion and Dharāvī he gives a detailed account (p. 70) and a brief account of the dam between Dharāvī and Māhīm (p. 70). Between Māhīm and Worlī there was, he says, a small ferry boat. "When I left the Island they were about damming up this breach, designing to go through with all that remains open to the ocean's invasion" (p. 80). That dam was duly built and when the Bombay City Improvement Trust engineers cut through it in recent years they found it was as solid as when it was first built and the masonry in good condition.

Burnell does not comment on the primary purpose of this reclamation work (to make the Island self-supporting) although he notes (p. 61) that "cows are a scarce commodity on the Island, as in truth is every thing also of provision, we being beholden to our neighbours the Portugeeze for almost

every thing that we eat; otherwise we might starve, were we only to subsist on the product of the Island." Various other comments on the food available on the Island are scattered through the book. Oysters from the immediate vicinity of Bombay are not to-day well thought of, but Burnell found that oysters from the Prongs Reef "eat very well in the dry season, but in the rains are but mawkish and unwholesome" (p. 32); and he considered the "carvana"—a fish which is commonly but unscientifically known as the Bombay salmon—when cured, made "excellent breakfast meat" (p. 83). But he curiously fails to praise the pomphret—or, as he calls it, the "pomplit"—which is surely the best of all fish. Yet he says of the plantain (p. 79) that it bears "undoubtedly the best fruit in India (to my palate, in the world)," and apparently places the mango lower in the scale, while acknowledging the merit generally attributed to it. The mango, he writes (p. 79), is most delicious and by some is accounted the best in India." A young coconut he also thought "very delicious," and he was struck, like many other writers, by the number of uses to which the various parts of the coconut palm can be put (pp. 74-76). *De gustibus*, he liked both the flavour and the taste of the jack-fruit (p. 73); and he records the merits, without expressing his personal opinion as to the taste, of *pān supāri*.—"Its physical qualities are strengthening the head and stomach. It comforts the heart and breaks wind in the bowels; it fastens loose teeth and causeth a sweet breath, but, eat to excess, it intoxicates" (p. 78). As to water, Burnell thought that none of the springs or wells on the Island "can brag of any excellent quality" (p. 84). The big well outside the Fort was dug, he says, "in a ground whose nature is salt petre, not agreeable in the least to European constitutions" (p. 22). The "best water on the Island" came from a spring at Mazagon (p. 53), yet—perhaps it was a second thought—near Worli there was "a spring of good palatable water, excelling that at Mazagon" (p. 84).

That health conditions had not greatly, if at all, improved since Dr Fryer wrote that the climate of Bombay was extremely unhealthy, and Ovington recorded the proverb that

in Bombay "two Mussouns are the age of a man," can be seen from what Burnell has to say about the hospital and cemetery. The former he describes as "a strange, old fashion'd ill contriv'd thing. . . seldom empty"; few "above the degrees of soldiers and sailors" entered it—"so many have gone in ill and have come out so well that they never ailed anything after" (p. 24). Of the cemetery at Mendham's Point Burnell gives an account (pp. 24-26) which, read together with his description of the tomb of Sir John Child on Colāba Island (pp. 29-30), constitutes one of the most valuable additions to the known history of Bombay. There was no exaggeration in his describing the burial ground as "a cormorant paunch never satisfied with the daily supplies it receives, but is still gaping for more." For many years after he had left Bombay the toll of life continued to be heavy and Mendham's Point "still gaped for more" English bodies. It has been my strange experience (see note on p. 25) to stand among the closely packed bones that are buried here. The ground is as full of bones as the valley that Ezekiel saw in his vision. They are the remains of nameless pioneers by whom our British hold on India was secured. To-day there is no monument to show that the Legislative Council Hall stands on ground which Englishmen should for all time regard as sacred, as being "for ever England": but a few score yards away is the Gateway of India, a majestic memorial of the visit of King George V to India.

These things are strangely forgotten. The tomb of Sir John Child, for long conspicuous on account of its size, which made it a fine mark for mariners, and memorable because of the part Sir John had played in the history of Bombay, was not only razed to the ground, but its existence and position on Colāba were wholly forgotten. There may at times have been some idle speculation about it, though it is but seldom that Bombay is stirred into curiosity regarding its past history. James Douglas (*Bombay and Western India*, vol. II, p. 52 n.) notes that "no man can tell where Sir John Child's grave is" and wrongly surmises that it was in the Mendham's Point graveyard. Burnell solves that historical mystery and, as I

show in a footnote to his description of the tomb (p. 29 n. 3), it is possible with the help of other references to locate it with precision.

It is not often that Burnell writes with such detail as he employs in describing that tomb. He might to advantage have done so. For example, he gives a most tantalizing account of the system of government in Bombay which, though he may have thought it perfectly intelligible, makes one desire many further details. There were, he says, seven jurisdictions in the Island, and each of them was divided into "packereys" in which "lie the towns, hamlets or villages" (p. 6)—a phrase which recalls Lord Clarendon's famous description of Bombay "with the towns and castles therein." He is almost equally brief in his account of the troops in Bombay—"five companies of Christians"; eight companies of sepoys and militia, consisting of "Moors, Gentews, Mustees, Portugueze, all freemen of the Island," who paraded once a month and drilled "with as much grace as a cow might make a curtsey" (p. 13). Of the Castle and of the various outlying forts he gives a more detailed account, summing up the former as "a pretty, neat, regular fortification, well governed, well gunn'd, well mann'd and well disciplined: the strongest hold our nation are masters of in India" (p. 17). It had been strengthened since the long siege by the Sidi, twenty years before Burnell wrote, and some of the work was still unfinished, "leaving a torn land still visible about the Plumbtree Bastion." The English town outside the Fort was still small, consisting of a few one-storied houses, the incomplete Church, an apology for a garden with "neither tree nor flower to be seen nor any thing else except hogs and poultry, and a small kitchen ground at one corner which had hardly greens enough in it to compose one sallad" (p. 22), the barracks, a rope-walk, and the hospital and cemetery. The "Black Town"—a phrase which fortunately has not survived in Bombay—to the north of the Fort contained several streets and a bazaar that was "indifferent large and well supplied" (p. 27). Of Dongri Fort, which Burnell commanded, a more detailed account is naturally given (pp. 33-38). It stood on a

hill "fortified by nature as well as art," which was for many years the key to Bombay, until it was finally levelled and Fort George (of which fragments to-day remain in the compound of St. George's Hospital) was built on its site in 1770 (see note on p. 33). Burnell emphasizes the importance of Dongri Fort and indeed none can have failed to appreciate it, for "it was on this summit that the Seddy, in the late wars, raised his batteries against the Castle, discommoding it very much" (p. 35).

Not the least attractive feature of the narrative is the simplicity of the style in which it is written. In contrast with Fryer and Ovington, who dearly loved a classical quotation or allusion, Burnell writes with practically no artificial embroidery of style, and indeed, if the reader comes across any such embellishment as an allusion to Ptolemy (as in the first sentence), or to Pythagoras, he may be certain that Burnell has unashamedly borrowed his display of learning from Ovington. But these appropriations of classical references are so few that they may be pardoned, and so unobtrusive that they do not mar the straightforward presentation of fact and comment that Burnell makes. It may be deduced that he could not help himself and that he did not possess that advantage of a knowledge of Latin which in his days was the distinguishing sign of education. The deduction may be fair, but if that is the case, it is all the more to Burnell's credit that he should have been able to write well and lucidly; and none can regret that his descriptions of places and people are almost wholly free from the copious proofs—or pretences—of classical learning that distract the attention of those who to-day read the works of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century writers.

What, however, is to be regretted is that the modern reader of the narrative cannot understand all Burnell's copious topographical explanations. His place-names in particular present great difficulty and the reasons for this are worth examining. In the first place, the copyist of the Orme MSS. may have been responsible for the different readings that occur in the narrative of such comparatively simple

names as Gīrgaum and Walkeshwar, as well as of so fantastic a specimen of nomenclature as "Bendawmatcharad." But it is of greater importance to consider that Burnell may have had no ear for, and but little knowledge of, the vernaculars, and so, in an age when spelling was not a strong point even among the ruling class in England, and when transliteration was not an exact science, his hit or miss method of reproducing a strange name could not fail to have many odd results, and he was probably unable to check many of them, even if he had thought it necessary, by reference to any written authority. Nor was it only Marāthī or other vernacular place-names that puzzled him: the Portuguese *Salvaçam*—which Fryer had rendered as *Salvesong*—became in his hands *Selvo Song*.

A further difficulty arises from the fact that Burnell mentions many place-names that have gone out of use—such as *Derong*, which was familiar to Gerald Aungie at any rate; or *Mendham's Point* and *Nowghur*, which had a long term of currency and were perfectly well known before falling into disuse; or, and this is where the worst difficulty arises, names such as *Caredaw*, *Pauntt* and *Moae* which have not been traced in any other record. This becomes more intelligible when one recalls the fact that in Burnell's time each and every "oart" and "batty" ground and salt-pan had its distinctive name, and so too had every little peak on, at any rate, one—the eastern—of the two parallel chains of low hills which were a distinctive feature of the seven islands. Many of those names naturally fell out of use when the physical features with which they were connected were either obliterated or changed beyond all recognition, as the city of Bombay was built. Sometimes they remained, as, for example, in modern times the name *Dhobī Talao* has remained, although the tank in question has been filled in. The result of this continued use of names that are no longer appropriate is that modern Bombay has in addition to street-names an unusually large number of place-names applied to districts. Thus *Khetwādī*, *Khāra Talao*, *Bhuleshvar*—to take only one crowded central part of the Island—are names still

in common use, which probably convey a more definite idea to most of the inhabitants than do any street-names of that locality.

Some rural names, such as Charney, survive in the urban conditions of to-day; possibly indeed more of them thus survive than one would suppose. A large number of the place-names now in use in Bombay are traced—and sometimes with the aid of no small degree of imagination—to the vernacular names of trees. Among this latter class are many such names as Byculla and Chinchpokli, which Burnell, somewhat surprisingly, does not mention, nor indeed does he use some of what one would suppose to be among the oldest place-names current in Bombay, such as Paidhownie and Umarchadi. Yet those are precisely of the class of place-names in which he would have been interested, as may be inferred from his explanation of such names as Butcher's Island (p. 87) and Cross Island (p. 90). Considerable ingenuity has been displayed in discovering explanations for those, and many other, Bombay place-names, often, as it seems, on the curiously perverse principle that the obvious can never be the real origin. Burnell's narrative should at least settle the dispute as to the names of those two islands.

Apart from the problems of nomenclature which, naturally enough, are not easy of solution after the passage of more than two centuries, the very wealth of detail that Burnell was able to record is in itself bewildering. It is most remarkable that he was in a position to write in much greater detail than Governor Aungier had been. In later years, as has been mentioned, Burnell was to become a cartographer. In Bombay his duties as a soldier did not confine him to his little fort on Dongri Hill: there is internal evidence in the narrative that he was at one time engaged in survey work in Bombay. The first mention of a survey of the Island is in 1670-71, when Colonel Hermann Bake was appointed Engineer and Surveyor-General of Bombay; but he died before his map of the Island was finished. In a letter of 24 March 1710, the Court again proposed that Bombay should be surveyed and registered. The survey was undertaken by

Captain Euclid Baker, to whom Burnell refers (p. 23) as "my worthy good friend," and it is probable that Burnell assisted him. There is a direct allusion to surveying Bombay in a passage where Burnell tells (p. 31) of how he tried to shoot jackals when "on my survey" in Colāba; and the exactitude of his measurements—the Island is said to be "ten miles of mensuration according to Gunter's chain" (p. 4), and, on the Prongs Reef, "I measured 47 chains"—is a further proof of his having experience of survey work. Apart from these details of measurement, Burnell is as a rule remarkably correct in his topographical descriptions—as, for example, of Khānderi Island (p. 88)—and he singles out landmarks, such as hills, churches and tombs, for special mention. It is curious that he should never give even an estimate of the altitude of the hills to which he refers. Yet he more than once gives soundings in the harbour (pp. 91-2) in the elaborate sailing directions which I have, by a happy accident, found that he borrowed, with slight variations, from *The English Pilot*, published in 1703. Apart from all this evidence of his having been on survey work in Bombay, it may be asserted that no writer could have described Bombay, and more particularly the coast line, as he does in detail, without having an intimate knowledge of the subject, such as could only be obtained from practical experience. No study of such maps as then existed, "draughts" as he calls them, could have given him this knowledge.

Burnell is accurate also in his observations of the daily life of Bombay; of the methods adopted by the fishermen in the harbour (p. 39); of the way in which the land was prepared in the hot weather and early monsoon for rice (p. 60); and of the salt works along the eastern shore of the Island (pp. 63-4), where he noted the technicalities of the whole process of obtaining salt by evaporation, and noted them too in terms of accuracy and simplicity which—like many of his botanical notes—reveal him as a good exponent of what is nowadays loosely called "popular science." As one would expect, Burnell had, or fancied he had, an eye for the military value of ground. Thus he wanted to have the unfinished Church

outside the Fort pulled down, "for should we have a rupture with the Dutch, they may chance to make use of it for a battery on it, whereon they may mount twenty pieces of cannon with ease" (p. 21). Similarly he thought the "fine flatt parade" on Bhandarwāda Hill "would make a noble battery for guns and command the town of Mazigon much better than the fort it hath" (p. 53).

Burnell had too an eye for natural beauty—a not very common characteristic of his period—and more than once comments on fine views, such as from a hill in Parel (p. 60), whence it was possible to delight oneself "with the Island of Elephants and Mowl"; or from the hill of "Cola," in the northern part of the Island where "you have a prospect of all the Mareen de Rowley and the out Salt grounds, which stretch away to Goncar, yielding a very delectable object at that elevated height" (p. 64), or from Māhim looking across the creek to Bāndra—"a noble prospect" (p. 72). From the top of Sion Hill he noted, as many generations of Bombay citizens must since then have noted, the "noble prospect" of the Island, "the eye being delighted with a diversity of objects and all pleasant and agreeable" (p. 69). Worth he commended as "the most airy point of land on the Island" (p. 81); and he particularly noted the fine view from that promontory: "You have likewise a prospect of the ships sailing in the offing, the boats fishing in the Bay and opening of Mahem River, likewise the sea coast of the Island of Salsett trending away to the northward till the sight is eclipsed by the extremity of its distance, the points of land shooting out one after another, till at last they seem to unite with the horizon, being thickly overrun with woods of coconuts and fine sandy bays." It is a view that is well worth being singled out in that way; but it is curious that Burnell—who remarks on the "pleasant prospect of the distant ocean and the lower lands of Bombay" from Malabar Hill—did not comment on the even more wonderful prospect to be seen when one looks north from a high point—better still to-day from a house top—on the northern end of Cumballa Hill and sees those very "points of land"—Bāndra, Juhu, Versova, to which he

referred—"shooting out one after another." At least one other rural scene that he singles out for particular notice must now be taken on trust. The "extremely pleasant" road (p. 41) through coconut plantations, along which he used to walk to Gīrgaum, "an indifferent large town," is not to-day recognizable

Nor is it only natural beauty that Burnell mentions. The graveyard at Mendham's Point, he says, "yields a most noble prospect as you lay in the road and is a great ornament to Bombay" (p. 26). Though he had little sympathy for the Church of Rome, he thought the Church of Our Lady of Expectation "extraordinary beautiful" (p. 41), and some remains of Hindu sculpture "extraordinary good" and "really worth observation, being cut by very good hands" (p. 46).

Of his recreations Burnell unfortunately tells us little. There had been somewhat surprising talk of a billiard table in a summer house outside the Fort (p. 21), but nothing seems to have come of it. Of course there were such entertainments as are given by snake-charmers—"the subtle animal being so captivated with the sound of the instrument" (p. 67)—and nautch parties, at which the girls "turn themselves round with exceeding nimbleness . . . rowling their eyes about in a cheerful or languishing air" (p. 104). Still better, one might have the good fortune to attend the General on one of his magnificent picnics, "attended with the gentry and ladies of the Island" when "a curious cold collation" was spread under the trees, and where "variety of wine and musick exolerate the spirits to a chearful liveliness and renders every object divertive" (p. 42). But there is nothing to show whether Burnell was on what we should nowadays call "the Government House List"; and the fact that his account of those entertainments is not wholly original leads to the conclusion that he had not taken part in them. The further circumstance that he does not tell his readers what sort of man was "his Honour Aislabie," the Governor of that time, is not remarkable. Whatever else Burnell may have been, he was not a gossip-writer; he was far more interested in Bombay—and his

own Dongri Fort in particular—than in the people with whom he came into contact. So it comes about—and this is a great loss—that he has very little to say of the social conditions of his time. A soldier's opinion of the English people in Bombay in 1710 would have been peculiarly valuable, in view of the way in which Fryer and Ovington had previously denounced the community. Fryer had particularly noticed the addiction of the English to a kind of liquor which he called "Fool Rack" and to "foul women" (vol. 1, p. 179), and the sententious Ovington worked himself up to a passage of rhetorical denunciation to the effect that "Satan obtain'd a more despotick authority in the hearts of the Christians than he did among the Gentiles in the pageantry of heathen worship" (p. 87).

About all that—so far as Bombay is concerned—Burnell is silent. He was destined later on to fall from grace at Madras, and subsequently in Bengal he drank and fought like a typical soldier of fortune; but in Bombay he must have lived a decent life or he would not have escaped being wrecked on Mendham's Point (p. 24). He confesses to the harmless indulgence of a cup of fresh toddy during his early morning walks: "it is of an enebriating quality and easily intoxicates being the palm wine of Givy, though here they either call it toddy or suree" (p. 52). In the evenings he found it pleasant to walk from Girgaum along the shore of Back Bay to the channel dividing Old Woman's Island from Bombay. Such a walk in those days was along "a fine, white sandy bay, on which it is pleasant walking of an evening, enjoying the benefits of a fresh sea breeze" (p. 47); in later years that walk was to become spoilt by open drains and a general fouling of the foreshore. When duty took him farther afield, to Colāba, he "used to meet some pleasure" trying to shoot a jackal, "going in among them [mangroves] with my piece, did commonly set out fifty or threescore jackalls at a time. They would fly like the wind and were always too nimble for me, for I never could shoot one" (p. 31). Possibly he was a better shot with a pistol than with his "piece." He could at any rate hit the trunk of a palm tree of which the wood is "so

hard that it is not penetratable, as I have often experimented by firing pistol balls against it, which would always glance off and very often scarcely leave the mark behind them" (p. 53).

Burnell's profession of more serious pursuits, of how he employed "several ancient Brachmen...being at no small cost and trouble to gather and compile these small observations" (p. 93) about the people of Bombay, need not be taken too literally. He was writing, or he professed to write, for the entertainment of his father. In such a case filial piety did not lay on him any obligation to disclose the fact that in compiling his narrative he borrowed at intervals from Ovington. Nor is that indebtedness of much importance, for in his remarks on manners and customs (pp. 94-110), as in the earlier part of his narrative, there is much to suggest personal observation and study. His Brāhman instructors then may be accepted.

Why he unloaded upon his father such sailing instructions as could only interest a mariner in eastern waters must remain a matter for speculation, for there is no evidence that Burnell senior was a seaman. Was the writer one of the first tourists to appropriate facts from such guide books as there were—*The English Pilot* of 1703 was his Baedeker—for the purpose of filling out his letters?

Whether he was actually writing to his father or whether he merely followed an established convention is another matter for speculation. The epistolary style is seldom apparent and gets to no greater degree of intimacy than (p. 19) "I...will inform you": there is no talk of returning to eat a fatted calf such as that with which Fryer concluded his admirable series of letters. But the first Englishman in India, Thomas Stevens, had written in 1579 to his father, and, bearing that in mind, it must be owned that Burnell was one of a noble line of letter-writers. It is a misfortune that his work has been long neglected and that Bombay has been so little curious about its past history as to allow these letters to remain hidden, although, as I have shown, the clue to their existence was visible to any inquirer in the India Office.

ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND OF BOMBAY¹

BOMBAY is an island seated in nineteen degrees north latitude², was known to Ptolemy under the determination of Milizigeris³, it being then an absolute kingdom of pagan monarchy, under whose subjection it had continued divers centuries, till Mahometism had spread itself almost over the East, when by force of arms, it acknowledged the

¹ Orme MSS., *India*, vol. VIII, pp. 2099-2125, vol. IX, pp. 2126-2158. The title given by Orme adds "By a person unknown," but see the evidence for the authorship in the Introduction.

² Many early writers give the latitude in this way; but a letter from the Council at Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 19 January 1673/4, states, "The Island Bombay lyes in 18 d. 40 m. north latitude." Dr Buist in his *Guide to Bombay*, published as an appendix to the *Bombay Times Directory* about 1854, notes that "it is somewhat singular that there should so lately have been so much uncertainty about the position of Bombay," and cites various calculations of longitude and latitude. The triangulation survey of the Island in 1917 gave the following details with reference to the flagstaff within the compound of Bombay Castle

Latitude N. 18° 55' 48".70.
Longitude E. 72° 50' 19".17.

³ The allusion is probably borrowed from Ovington, p. 79. "By Ptolemy it was describ'd under the name of Milizigeris." The name occurs in a slightly different form in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, and J. W. McCrindle in his notes to the translation, p. 129, referring to Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, writes: "Melizegara (Milze-guris or Milzigeris of Ptolemy, vii. i. 95) Vincent identifies with Jaygadh or Side Jaygadh. The same place appears in Pliny as Sigerus (vi. xxvi. 100)." W. H. Schoff in his notes on the *Periplus* writes, "Melizigara. This is placed by Muller and McCrindle at the modern Jaigarh (17° 17' N., 72° 13' E.), formerly a port of some size, but now little more than a fishing village. It is not impossible that it may be the modern Rajapur (16° 34' N., 73° 31' E.), which lies at the head of a tidal creek and is the only port on this Ratnāgiri coast to which Arab boats still trade direct, though vessels of any size cannot approach within three miles of the old stone quay.... The name seems to suggest the Sanskrit *Malaya-giri*, 'Malaya hills,' a name which covered the southern part of the Western Ghāts." It is far more probable that Pliny's Sigerus which, as has been shown, appears in many variations, is a corruption of the Aī *jasurahi*, an island. There is nothing in the context in the *Periplus* to suggest an identification of Milizigeris with Bombay

sovereignty of the Mogul, he having added it to the rest of his extensive dominions, tho' it is dubious in whose reign it fell to the throne of Induston, there being various opinions; and some in their descriptions thereof do not so much as mention a word of that matter.

The nearest conjecture that can be brought to join with time and truth is supposed to be by some forces Mango Chan sent into the west parts of Ducan, anno 1257, which falling upon these parts, conquered this and divers islands to the throne of Mango¹. The Moors continued proprietors thereof till about the year 1550, when it submitted to the arms of Portugall², and in time was added as part of those jurisdictions under the government of the General of the North, whose residence is usually in Basseen, a large city to the northward of Sallsett.

The Portugals being masters thereof and having settled themselves therein, discarded the old name it had born for many ages, and coined one new they thought more proper, giving it that of Bombahim, by others Boon Baiha, and by the English Bombay³, in alludance to the harbour which doth justly challenge that name, it being to my belief the best in India.

Thus the Portugalls having flourished therein for the space of one hundred and twelve years, till in anno 1661 this and Tangear were given to the Crown of England as part of the

¹ The reference is not clear. It is generally held that the so-called Muhammadan period of the history of Bombay began during the reign of Mubāiak Shāh I of Gujarāt (1317-1320); but his possession of the Island was never finally established, and during the reign of Muhammad Taghlak (1325-1350), when risings in Gujarāt and the Deccan left the Emperor no leisure to defend small outlying dependencies, Bombay seems to have again reverted to a Hindu overlord (*Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, vol. II, p. 17).

² Thāna, Bāndra, Māhim and Bombay were brought under tribute to the Portuguese in 1532 (F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, vol. I, p. 404).

³ The origin of the name Bombay is exhaustively examined in the *Bomb. City Gaz.* (vol. I, pp. 19-24). Burnell, like most Englishmen during the early years of the British occupation of Bombay, believed it to be a corruption of the Portuguese *boa bahia*, good bay. He did not recognize that there is no great phonetical difference between Bombay (there are early spellings in English documents, such as Bumbay, Bumbaye and Bumbacee) and the proper vernacular name Mumbai, although he knew (*vide* p. 48) that the goddess Mumbādevī was held by the Brāhmans to be the "Patroness of Bombay"

dowry of Catherine, Infanta of Portugall, upon her marriage with Charles the Second of Great Britain, &c. The King soon after sends 5 ships of war into India to take possession thereof in his name and under the command of my Lord Malbery, his Excellency Sir Abraham Shipman being constituted Governor. The ships arriving, laid their claim to the Island in behalf of England, but were refused possession by the Portugalls, they protesting it was above the royal prerogative to give away the divers hereditary estates there were therein, the which their ancestors had enjoyed ever since the colony was first planted, seeing they had committed nothing criminal, whereby the Crown might lay hold thereon. Nay, so great was the insolence and pride of these vagabonds that their common discourse was they valued not the Royal Deed of Gift that the King had made over in dowry, and that if the King was in Portugall, they were in India, where they would act in that matter as they thought most convenient.

Some time being past and nothing agreed upon, his Excellency sailed out of the port, and soon after arrived at India Drva [Anjidiv] (an island south of Carwar), where the colony sent out, being mostly raw men, began to fall down with fluxes and to die off[f] like rotten sheep. The Lord Malbory, considering the great mortality which raged among the men, soon after set sail again for Bombay, where being arrived, and having with threats brought them to reason, they would then unanimously deliver the Island, on condition every man should enjoy his own to his and his heirs male and by charter under the Seals of England, the which being assented to, the Island was delivered to the English Crown, and Mr. Cook, the survivor of Sir Abraham Shipman, was constituted General¹.

¹ Burnell's account of the expedition to, and surrender of, Bombay is generally correct, though it contains some errors in detail. The main facts are as follows. By the eleventh article of the treaty of 23 June 1661 between England and Portugal, drawn up on the occasion of the marriage of Catherine of Braganza with Charles II, the Portuguese King ceded the Port and Island of Bombay to the English with the idea, as Sir William Foster points out (*English Factories, 1661-1664*, pp. 124-5), of obtaining adequate support for the Portuguese in India against the growing power of the Dutch.

Sir Abraham Shipman was appointed Governor of the new possession and four companies of soldiers were raised as a garrison. The force sailed

Thus having possession, their next care was to secure the same to the Crown by building thereon a stately castle, of which hereafter, when I come to its description in its proper place. And now as to the Island.

Its length¹ from north to south being from Sion Point to the reef on Cola [Colāba] Island, ten miles of mensuration according to Gunter's chain² and its breadth from east to west, or from Mazagon Fort to Point Deodungar³ on Malabar Hill, three miles and a half of the same measure, altho' in many places it differs according to the several bays the sea formeth, as likewise the several inundations which at high water penetrateth into the center of the Island. It hath, on its south, part

to Bombay in five ships of the Royal Navy under the command of James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough, in April 1662. On their arrival in September and October of that year, the Portuguese Viceroy affected to doubt the validity of Shipman's credentials and refused to surrender the Island. Marlborough proceeded to Swally where, after ineffectual negotiations at Goa, he was followed by Shipman.

In this predicament a place had to be found to land the force, and the uninhabited island of Anjidiv was selected. Here Shipman landed in January 1663, his occupation being strongly opposed by the Governor of Kārwāi. Then ensued further haggling with the Portuguese, during which the little English force was attacked by sickness and reduced to a third of its numbers. Meanwhile, representations had been made to the King of Portugal, who sent out definite orders to the Viceroy to surrender Bombay without delay, and a formal commission was issued to Shipman; but before its arrival he had fallen a victim to the climate (on 6 April 1664) and was succeeded by Humphrey Cooke as provisional Governor. Eventually, in December, the small English force was moved to Goa, and thence, in February 1665, to Bombay, where, on the 8th of that month, the definite transfer of the Island took place, the Viceroy requiring and receiving Cooke's acceptance of certain conditions laid down by him. For details of these, a full account of the events preceding the cession of the Island, copies from and references to original documents, see *English Factories*, 1661-1664 and 1665-1667.

¹ Cf. Humphrey Cooke's report: "It's some eight miles in length and five miles and a halfe broad" (*English Factories*, 1665-1667, p. 46). Sir William Foster notes that the mile at that time had not its present definite length, and points out that three to four miles would be a more correct estimate of the breadth according to modern measurements.

² Gunter's chain, devised by Edmund Gunter, mathematician (1581-1626), is 22 yds. long and is divided into 100 links.

³ From other references in the narrative this is clearly to be identified as the N.W. point of what is now called Cumballa Hill, above the Mahalakshmi Temple. From it stone was probably obtained for the dam across the Great Breach, and in modern times the whole outline of the hill has been repeatedly altered by quarrying, so that the "hill of the god," indicated in the name, has been considerably changed.

of Decan; on the east, the Portuguese country, being parted therefrom by a small channel of no great breadth between Parelle and Sion, where it runneth into the river of Maham, which parteth it from the island Sallset on the north, and thence disembogues [discharges] itself into the ocean, which wholly boundeth it on the west. The Island for the most part is low and rocky, except on the east and west. On the first are the hills of Ben'daw'mateh'ard¹, near to Parell, and is very high land. Those on the west are Malabar and Worley, specified in all draughts of this coast, and is something higher than the former².

The center of the Island is wholly destitute of product, occasioned by the frequent salenés³ the sea maketh there in every high water (the land being so low), which at nip tide retiring into the sea, leaveth the ouse dry, from whence the sun exaleth foul and sickly vapours, especially in the month of October, when he is in the zenith⁴. It is then those unwholsome fumes do arise, which stagnising the air and renders that mortality it is subject to, whereof the Crown was so sensible, being at a prodigious expence in every year sending out new colonies to repeople the Island; to retrench which, but still to preserve it as a Royalty, it was made over to the English East India Company, who were become suitors for the same⁵, that in consideration of the annual payment of

¹ See *infra*, note 5 on p. 56.

² They are specified, for example, in the map accompanying the anonymous *Description of the Port and Island of Bombay*, etc., published in 1724.

³ Salenés, salt-marshes, from Port *salina*, *marinha de sal*.

⁴ Cf. Ovington, p. 85: "But at Bombay, September and October, those two months which immediately follow the rains, are very pernicious to the health of the Europeans; in which two months more of them die than generally in all the year besides. For the excess of earthy vapours after the rains ferment the air and raise therein such a sultry heat, that scarce any is able to withstand the feverish effect it has upon their spirits, nor recover themselves from those fevers and fluxes into which it casts them."

⁵ Sir William Foster shows (*English Factories, 1665-1667*, pp. 310-313) that although the Company had long had an eye on Bombay as one of the possible sites for the fortified settlement it desired to make on the western side of India, the first move came in fact from the other side. In March 1667 Lord Clarendon tentatively suggested the possibility of Bombay being made over to the Company. The proposal came up again in November 1667 and, after negotiations, was carried, the King receiving in return for the transfer of the Island a loan of £50,000 at six per cent. on

twenty pounds sterling (to which some add two pepper corns) as an acknowledgment, they shall enjoy the same and all its privileges during the King's pleasure, minding to keep the several fortifications thereof in good repair and well garrisoned with soldiers.

The government of the Island resembles that of a province that is divided into counties, hundreds, &c., this being subject to as many divisions for the better regulating the whole¹. The chief of these divisions are seven, according to the number of forts thereon, which have such and such limits allotted for the going their outrounds, which ground they are obliged to maintain in war, as likewise to administer justice in peace, and arbitrate in all differences and quarrels between man and man; tho' if they be of great consequence it is required that they be sent to a superior power, and from thence these divisions are termed jurisdictions, the commander of the garrison being superior thereof for the time being.

These jurisdictions are again divided into packereys² (like to hundreds in England), some containing two, others four, five and six. These packereys are formed for the better regulating of estates, militia, &c., tho' I believe, and that with good reason, that the packereys are of more ancient standing than the jurisdictions, seeing I have often found them cut by the limits thereof, and one and the same packerey lying in two jurisdictions.

In the packereys lie the towns, hamlets or villages, some having one, some two, and again some none; but of each in

adequate security for repayment. Letters Patent, dated 27 March 1668, were issued by which the King transferred to the East India Company all his rights to the Port and Island of Bombay, which were to be held "in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich," subject to the payment of an annual rent of £10. The actual transfer of the Island took place when the Commissioners sent out by the Company landed on 13 September 1668.

¹ In 1670, when Gerald Aungier was Governor, the Island of Bombay was, for the purposes of administration of justice, divided into "two distinct precincts, one comprehending Bombay, Mazagaon and Girgaon; and the other Mahim, Parel, Sion and Wofl and the Puckreys thereunto belonging" (Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*, p. 146).

² Packerey, Mar *pakhādī*, a paved path or an alley (literally, a wing of a village). Aungier's Convention of 1672 refers, in article 10, to "the paccari or parish...."

its respective place, as I shall describe them in passing through the several limits.

The seven jurisdictions, whereof the Island consisteth, are as follows:—Bombay, Dungarey¹, Mazagon, Sowrey [Sewri], Sion, Mayam [Māhīm], and Worley [Worli].

Bombay being the superior, contains the packereys of Cola² (or Old Woman's³ Island), Apolio⁴ and part of Derong⁵. In

¹ "Dongri, which appears in English writings of the seventeenth century as Dungerey and Dungere, means the hilly tracts, from the Marāthī word *dongar*" (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. I, p. 27). See also Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Dungere, "a kind of coarse and inferior cotton cloth."

² Cola, i.e. Colāba. This, though included in the land transferred by the Marriage Treaty, had occupants whose rights were purchased under Aungier's Convention of 1672, which provided: "That in regard to the little isle Colio, reaching from the outer point westwardly of the isle to the peccari or parish called Polo, will be of great use to the Honourable Company, in the good design which they have for the security and defence of this whole isle, it is hereby agreed that it shall be totally and wholly reserved for the use of the said Company, they making such reasonable satisfaction to the persons interested therein as hereafter is expressed" (see Malabari, p. 135). Malabari also remarks (pp. 408-9) that "if Aungier's Convention had been productive of no other result than this, it would still have deserved a place in the history of Bombay." Various suggestions have been made for the origin of the name Colāba—from *kolvān* or *kolbhāt*, a Koli hamlet, or holding; from Ar. *kālābeh*, a neck of land jutting into the sea (which would exactly apply to Colāba), etc. (see *Bombay Place-Names*, p. 49).

³ Old Woman's Island. This name has, by different writers, been ascribed to (1) the whole of what is now called Colāba, (2) Upper Colāba only, and (3) most commonly to Lower Colāba only, that is, to the smaller of the two islands (? Burnell's Moae), which is also the nearer to Bombay (see *The Times of India*, 9 August 1928). "A rudely carved red-smeared goddess, a venerable Portuguese dame, a wrinkled fate-reading fisher-woman, an antique mother of harlots have all been invented to explain the name Old Woman's Island" (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. iii, p. 667).

⁴ Apolio. "The origin of Apollo (Bandar) is still undetermined. In Aungier's Agreement (1672) it appears as Polo, while in 1743 it is written Pallo; and the original form of these words is variously stated to have been *palva* (a large war-vessel) and *pallav* (a cluster of sprouts or shoots). A fourth derivation is from *padao* (small trading-vessel), known to Bombay residents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the class of vessels chiefly used by the Malabar Pirates. Of the four derivations, that from *pallav* is perhaps the most plausible" (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. I, p. 25).

⁵ This place-name has dropped out of, if indeed it ever was in, common use. It is found in the Portuguese form of Derão in 1731 in one of the documents relating to the Mazagon Estate: "the Oart Churney Great situate in Bombay in the district (Pacaria) Derão" (*Selections from the Letters, etc. in the Bombay Secretariat*. Home Series, vol. II, p. 364). The name possibly survived in the "Drong Battery," to which there is a reference in the *Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. I, p. 280.

this last stands the town and castle of Bombay. Of each hereafter. But first of the Government here, [which] is again divided into three estates, lodged in one person who is superior in ecclesiastical, civil and military affairs.

As to affairs concerning the preservation of the soul, it is left to the care of the Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London, seeing it is a peculiar to his diocese, being accounted as part of Stepney parish, as is most places in India under the English nation¹. He having given to the rector whom he designeth for this Island wholesome advice and admonitions for the fructifying of the Gospel in these dark corners of the world (and having his Lordship's character to the Company), he is sent out to his flock, having an annual salary of a hundred pounds, and the General's table, besides other perquisites as to births, burials and marriages. He preaches once of a Sunday, prays twice, as likewise each morning on week days, and administers the Sacrament 4 times a year. He is likewise to visit all subordinate factories, where they have not a Levite, and to teach them the duty of prayer, as likewise to expound, and several other duties relating to his function. In case of mortality, and no other is sent out to supply his place of the late incumbent, then a writer is nominated by the General² who officiates till another arriveth.

¹ The Rev. the Hon. S. H. Phillimore, rector of Stepney, informs me that Burnell is correct in his statement, since "the Bishop of London has been and is still the bishop of all parts of the world where there is no bishop resident," and copies of baptisms performed in such districts are sent "to be entered in the baptismal book of the Parish Church of Stepney." It was not until 1814 that the "See of Calcutta (this comprising the whole of British East India) was founded, and the Rev. T. F. Middleton was consecrated its first bishop" (*Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* p. 472). Further, Sir William Foster points out that the Company's Charter of 1698 ordered that no minister should be sent to India until approved by either the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London.

² The history of the designation Captain-General (usually shortened to General) is given in the *Camb. Hist. of India* (vol. v, p. 102 n.). The designation was explained in a letter from the Company of August 1687 as being intended to give to its holder "the same preheminance and authority which the Dutch confer upon their Generall at Batavia." Its subsequent history is worth noting. After the death of Sir John Child, Sir John Goldsborough was sent out (1691) as Commissary and Supervisor, and two years later he was made Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief,

Civil affairs relating to this Island are lodged in a General-issimo who[m] the Company nominates and sendeth out (and not the King as formerly). He is likewise assisted with a Council consisting of ten, he having two voices. Of this Council the one half always reside in Surat, as doth the Deputy Governor, being President of our factory there, tho' the first of the five Council resident in Bombay represents his person because of his absence, and acts as Deputy. The next posts of note are the treasurer, storekeeper, warehousekeeper, purser marine, secretary and accomptant, physician and doctor, under which are other offices, as steward, butler, clerk of the market, which last are generally bestowed upon the factors and writers belonging to the Fort, whereof there are not a few¹.

To all these the Company allows competent salaries, as likewise a table which is bountifully provided with variety of dishes to incite the appetite, served with admirable order and nothing but plate allowed to come thereon. It is likewise hospitable to strangers at their arrival, if their appearance and actions recommend them for gentlemen.

Under the Metropolitan of Bombay are divers subordinate

with Madras as his headquarters, while Sir John Gayer was to act as his Lieutenant-General and Governor of Bombay. On the death of Goldsbrough, Gayer succeeded to the post of "General" (1694), remaining at Bombay, while Higginson, the Madras President, became Lieutenant-General. Ten years later (Gayer being kept in prison at Surat by the Mughal authorities), Sir Nicholas Waite, the new Governor of Bombay, assumed the title of "General," and upon his dismissal in 1708, his successor Aislabie (1708-1715) laid claim to the same designation. The title was abolished in 1715, when the new post of President and Governor of Bombay was created, with Charles Boone as its first occupant. The title of Lieutenant-General had lapsed in 1698, when Thomas Pitt was appointed Governor of Madras.

¹ In 1710-11, when Burnell was at Bombay, the Council consisted of William Aislabie, General and Treasurer; Robert Mence, Warehousekeeper, William Phipps, Purser Marine; John Courtney, Collector at Mahim; Douglas Burniston, Collector at Bombay (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1, para. 110 of letter of 19 January 1710/11). There are no consultations extant for the year 1710, but from the *Bomb. Public Procs.* of 1711 (vol. 14) we learn that on 19 February Thomas Chown was succeeded as Steward by William Griffith and that George Taylor was Deputy-Secretary until August, after which he was confirmed in that office. Of the remainder of the Company's servants in Bombay in 1711, there is no mention up to the time of Burnell's departure.

factories¹, as Surat, whose chief hath the title of President, and is always, or ought to be, Deputy Governor of Bombay; next Ispahan, where the Company have an Agent; then Gomoron² or Bunder Abasse³ in Persia. On the Malabar Coast are Tellichery, Calicut, Anjango and Brinjon³; to all which the General sendeth governors, councils, factors, writers; and ships from England, as likewise of the country built, he dispatcheth to these distant places and receiveth them from thence; and of all the three Governments he is the greatest Factor the Company have in India.

To begin with Military Government. It will be proper to say something of Martial Law⁴, once in force in this Island. It had a Sessions House⁵, a sumptuous pile (tho' now ruined)

¹ In 1708 Bombay became an independent Presidency on the Union of the London and English East India Companies, with (in 1710) the following factories subordinate to that government: Surat, Broach, Cambay, Kārwāt, Tellicherry and Anjengo.

² More commonly, Gombroon, the modern Bandar Abbās, or Abbasi (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Gombroon).

³ Tellicherry factory, the chief emporium for the Company's pepper trade, was established in 1683, and Calicut (where a factory was settled in 1664) was at this date subordinate to it. Burnell is in error in giving "Anjango and Brinjon" (Anjengo and Brinjaon) as separate factories at this period. At Brinjaon, the Villinjam (Vizhinjam) of modern maps, a fishing village in Trivandrum Division, on the coast of Travancore (variously called "Beeringar," "Bing John," etc. by the old writers), the English had a fort prior to 1683, but it was abandoned in favour of Anjengo where, with the consent of the Queen of Attinga, a fort was erected in 1695. See *English Factories*, 1618-1621, p. 1, n. 2; *Travancore State Manual*, vol. I, p. 314.

⁴ Cf. Fryer (vol. I, p. 177): "The Government here now is English; the soldiers have martial law; the freemen, common; the chief arbitrator whereof is the President, with his Council at Surat; under him is a Justiciary, and Court of Pleas, with a committee for regulation of affairs, and presenting all complaints." According to Sir Michael Westropp, a former Chief Justice of Bombay, the use of military law for military purposes was countenanced by the Charter of Car. II (27 March 1668). According to Malabar (p. 160 n.), what was authorized by the Charter of 1683—which created the Deputy-Governor of Bombay Judge-Advocate and which established a Court of Judicature—was a Maritime and Mercantile Court.

⁵ The Sessions House was in the "Fair Common House" which Aungier proposed, in 1676, should be built. It has been commonly assumed that traces of the original building survive to this day. S. M. Edwards (*The Rise of Bombay*, p. 112) gives a plan of the building known as Mapla Por and writes: "In this building, as originally designed by Aungier, justice was dispensed until the year 1720. Its ruined plinths

and a Judge Advocate. The Bench consisted of a judge, two captains, ditto lieutenants, ensigns and attorney, who proceeded legally with criminals according to law established till, as it happened through mistake of the judge, they hanged a man first, and in part to wipe away such a blemish they thro' ignorance had been guilty on, forthwith summoned the Court, who being assembled, gravely entered upon the tryal of the aforesaid person after he was dead, and then found him guilty of the crime for which he suffered before ever he was brought to a trial¹. These and other enormous complaints being made home, was the forfeiture of that power.

The military of this Island consists of five companies of

and staircases constitute to-day one of the most ancient monuments of British dominion in this island." From what Burnell says, the ruins may not be so old as has been thought. The explanation undoubtedly is that the building was badly damaged during the fighting with the Sidi. There are occasional references to it in *F.R., Bombay*, vol. III, e.g. under date 18 August 1689, when the house was taken from the enemy by a party from the Fort but not apparently occupied, as "our black souldiers" took it again on the 21st. In the following month the enemy had a "great gunn" in the house.

The sumptuous scale of the building may still (1933) be judged by the great stone stairs and by the remains of a double wall (the space between the two walls is about 4 ft.). But the whole of this and its surroundings have been acquired by the Bombay Municipality in connection with an improvement scheme and will presumably soon be demolished. An inscribed marble tablet on the wall runs as follows "This wall formed part of Gerald Aungier's Court-house erected in 1676 and known as Mapla Por, and also that of the Prison attached to the Court-house from 1676 until 1720 A.D."

¹ This incident is also recorded by Capt. Alexander Hamilton in *A New Account of the East Indies*, 1727, vol. 1, p. 190. "He [General Child] erected a Court of Inquisition, and made an old Greek, one Captain Garey, Judge, who had condemned a man to be hanged on a Tuesday, and the man suffered according to sentence; but, on Friday after, the poor dead fellow was ordered to be called before the Court, but he would not comply with the orders."

Sir Charles Fawcett, who has examined all the available evidence on the subject, remarks on Burnell's version of the story. "It seems not improbable that Ensign Burnell, who was in Bombay when there were no Courts other than that of the Governor and his Council, for the Courts of Admiralty and Judicature had disappeared for some twenty years, was really repeating some old story, not about a Military Court, but about the Court of Admiralty." Sir Charles Fawcett further points out the inaccuracies in Hamilton's account and proves conclusively that the judge in question could not, as Hamilton asserts, have been Captain Gary.

Christians, that is, Europeans, topasses¹ and cofferees², three whereof mount and relieve alternate in Bombay Castle, the eldest company being distinguished by blue facings, the second green and the third red.³ The fourth company is wholly engarrisoned in Dungarey, and the last in Meham, Sion and Mazagon, those two last forts being under the care

¹ Topass, or topaz a name used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for dark-skinned or half-caste claimants of Portuguese descent and Christian profession. For suggested derivations and a history of the use of the word, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Topaz, Sir Richard Temple, *Topaz-Topass* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. L, pp. 106-113)

² Cofferees: see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Caffir, Caffre, Coffree, for the various uses of this word. It is properly the Ar. *hāfir*, pl. *kofia*, "an infidel, an unbeliever in Islam." In the eighteenth century in Bombay it was chiefly applied to the slaves who were imported from Madagascar and elsewhere and who were allotted to various occupations by the Board of the Cofferees. In 1741 it was held that the Madagascan slaves were not robust enough for any laborious work and that "the only method will be to employ them in the Military." But in 1752 the behaviour of the Madagascan cofferees in the field was reported to be equal to that of the Europeans, and "they are as much dreaded by the Moors" (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. II, pp. 256-259)

³ It was in 1704 that the clothing of the garrison at Bombay first received attention. On his arrival at the settlement, Sir Nicholas Waite, the newly appointed "General," was struck by the "agedness of the souldiers, more like bandities in the woods then military men paid for guarding the Castle and Island." At a consultation held on 20 November 1704, he made a proposal, which was adopted by the Council, for "the delivering out ordinary read cloth, making coats and caps for every souldier," each man to have "a coate for one yeare, to be equally proportioned out of then months pay." The warehousekeeper was ordered to give out the cloth, which was to be "faced with perpetuanoes [a silk and wool fabric], each Company distinguished by the collar" (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. II, pp. 6, 8) Burnell's statement is valuable, since he describes the actual colours of the various facings.

In a General Letter of 17 March 1706/7 there is a further reference to the uniforms of the Bombay regiments. In para. 49 the Council wrote to the Court "The three standing Companys having not been clothed these two years, they are ordered to be new clothed, the charge to be reimbursed the Company out of their pay, which shall be a standing method till otherwise directed. The Christian outguards at Mahim, Worlic, &c., to be distinguished and clothed, to be paid for as above" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. II)

The officers of the three companies in 1709-1711 were:

1st company, Captain James Hanmer,
2nd company, Lieutenant Thomas Wallace,
3rd company, Lieutenant Wooton Vyse.

The 4th and 5th companies are not mentioned in the Bombay Consultations, but each month there is the entry, "Christian Outguards, one company in the severall outforts" (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. IV).

of the commander of the first, whose livery is green faced with blew. Besides these forces are eight companies of sepoy, seven of them containing eighty men each and likewise a subadar, hubladar, and a jumbladar or captain, lieutenant and ensign. They have likewise two nakes¹ or corporals, they being all of them either Moors or Gentows of the Rashput [Rājput] cast. The eighth company consisteth but of ten men and an ensign.

The militia are divided into two classes, Bombay and Mahim. They consist of Moors, Gentews², Mustees³, Portuguese, all freemen⁴ of the island. They are usually called up once a month to their exercise, which they do with as much grace as a cow might make a curtesy. We had them up every night in our late troubles, which so fatigued our new campaigners that they agreed to raise two companies at their own charge to be excused from lying out of their beds a nights, which after I left the Island I heard was accepted of⁵. As to

¹ Hubladar, jumbladar, nake. Hubladar and jumbladar was the common European rendering of *havildār* and *jama'dār*, sepoy non-commissioned officers. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Havildar; Jemadar. In para. 41 of a summarized letter from Bombay to the Court, dated 3 October 1706, is the remark: "Two jumbladars and their working company of sepoy entertained" (*Bomb Abs* vol. 1) Nake is an unusual spelling of *nāyah*, commonly written naik or naique, a native captain.

² Gentews. "This word is a corruption of the Portuguese Gentio, a 'Gentile' or heathen, which they applied to the Hindus in contradistinction to the Moros or 'Moors,' i.e. Muhammadans" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Gentoo).

³ Mustees. a half-caste. A corruption of the Port. *metiço*. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Mustees.

⁴ The Royal Charter of 27 March 1668, by which Bombay was transferred to the East India Company, provided, *inter alia*, that "all and every the persons being our subjects which do or shall inhabit within the said port and island, and every of their children and posterity which shall happen to be born within the precincts and limits thereof, shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, immunities, capacities and abilities of free denizens and natural subjects within any of our dominions, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this our Kingdom of England" (Malabari, p. 112).

⁵ At a consultation held on 28 May 1711, shortly after Burnell's departure, "The Vereadores, both of Bombay and Mahim, presenting a petition requesting in behalf of themselves and other inhabitants of the Island that the Generall and Councill would find some means to ease them from their constant doing duty in keeping the Militia on foot, as has been done for many months past on the rumour of Conjee Angra's making preparations to land on the Island, and thro' their constant being

the amount of the whole soldiery of the Island in constant [service, it] is about 1,200 men.

The military posts are adjutant, captain lieutenant, engineer, lieutenants, ensigns, barrackmaster, clerk of the fortifications, gunner, clerk of the coolies and marshal.

The adjutant, whose duty it is to discipline the battalion, is likewise captain lieutenant, or first lieutenant, the company having no captains in India that do military duty; but the General, Second and Third reserved those titles to themselves, and did formerly receive pay for the same, tho' of late the Company hath stopp'd it from them.

The lieutenants act as captains, as likewise the ensigns as lieutenants¹, the clerk of the coolies doing ensign's duty; his business is likewise to write the roll against all musters, and to

on duty at nights they were not able in the day time to cultivate their ground [or] to sow their batty." Their request was taken into consideration and it was proposed that a tax should be levied to defray the charge of maintaining an additional force for the security of the Island, such tax to commence from January 1712, the militia thereafter to be immune from bearing arms. To this proposition the Veicadoires and others having estates on the Island ("being now the time for preparing their ground to sow their grain") gave their assent (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. IV).

Later in the same year, at a consultation held on 1 December 1711, it was "resolved that there be raised another company of garrison soldiers to serve upon occasion in lieu of the militia and that the three companies now exceeding 180 topasses be reduced to 120, and the 4th company to contain the like number" (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. IV). The Bombay Council reported their action to the Court in their letter of 14 January 1711/12, para. 30 of which is summarized as follows: "Militia excused from duty on alarms on payment of 15,000 Xs. a year" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. I). As early as 1677, when the militia consisted of "a compleat body of neare 600 men...all possessours of land on the Island," certain "Braminys and Bannians," being unaccustomed to bear arms, had also been permitted to commute their service by a contribution (letter to the Court, quoted in Strachey's *Keigwin's Rebellion*, p. 170). See also Flyer, vol. I, p. 171, for the Bombay militia at this date.

¹ In their letter of 19 January 1710/11 (para. 87) the Bombay Council commented on the pay "agreed in England for the military officers" and stated that formerly the pay of a captain-lieutenant and adjutant was Xs. 78, 54 rs., that of a lieutenant 66, 1. 10 and of an ensign 49, 2 29 per month, reckoning 13 months to the year, but that Sir Nicholas Warte had allowed but 12 months to the year, which considerably reduced the pay. Moreover, 25 years previously, when the rates of pay were fixed, the xeraphin "was valued at 20½d, tho' its worth but 19½d and goes current at 18d." Should the Court "diminish the pay, the Europeans would desert, for their present pay doth but barely maintain them" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. I).

deliver in an account each day to the lieutenant and ensign concerning the welfare of the company, &c.

The Castle of Bombay is a square of four bastions, whereof one hath two batteries of cannon. They are not equally proportioned, those towards land, termed the Tank and Plum-tree¹ Bastions, being larger than those towards the sea. It is founded on a point of rocks so close to the water that the sea constantly washeth the walls of one half of the Castle quite from the Flag Staff to the Tank Bastion². The house wherein the General and all the Factory reside stood upon the ground before the Castle was erected, being a large Portuguese fabrick and belonged to the family of the Sozéz³, tho' now it hath been sufficiently altered by its new inhabitants.

¹ A bastion of this name is often mentioned in the account of the invasion of Bombay by the Sidi (*F.R., Bombay*, vol. III), but the name seems later to have been changed. It is possibly identical with the Flower Tree or Brab Tree Bastion on the west side of the Castle. Details of the various stages in the development of the Fort are given in the *Bomb. Gaz.* vol. XXVI, pt. II, p. 268 *et seq.* and pt. III, pp. 651-655.

² The repair of the "terrass upon the house and curtains adjoining to the Flag Staff Bastion" was one of the recommendations of Sir Nicholas Waite when he assumed office in November 1704 (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. II, p. 5). In their letter of 25 March 1708 (para. 67) the Bombay Council informed the Court that "a flagg for the Castle" was to be made (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. I).

³ Research, kindly undertaken by Mr A. J. D'Souza, both in Bombay and Goa, has disclosed no more about this family than is known of them as landowners. In 1547 the Portuguese granted the Mazagon Estate to Antonio Pessoa. He died in 1571 and a patent was issued which granted the Estate in perpetuity to Lionel de Souza e Lima, who had married Donna Anna, the daughter of Antonio Pessoa. The patent laid down that "the village of Mazagon is given to Lionel de Souza for ever and to his heirs, paying every year 105 gold pardaos and three silver tangas of six and a half double piece each. On the death of Lionel de Souza the village is to remain with Donna Anna Pessoa, Ruy de Souza and Manuel de Souza, his wife and sons, that is to say, one half of the income to the two sons." In the event of the sons dying before Donna Anna, the Estate was to be shared by such of his descendants as Lionel de Souza might nominate by will. In any case, the village was not to be sold, exchanged or alienated without the permission of the King of Portugal or the licence of his Viceroy in India. Lionel de Souza died shortly after, leaving his widow to manage the manor. It descended from her to her eldest son Ruy de Souza in 1632. By 1637 Ruy de Souza had become incapacitated by age, and accordingly, by another patent, dated 3 June 1637, the manor was handed over to his son Bernadino de Tavora, in whose possession it remained until 1659. "It being declared," so runs the patent, "that Ruy de Souza had no other son but Bernady de Tavora, the King confirmed

Its ramparts are large and regular, having a broad tera-plain¹, mounted with a hundred and twelve pieces of cannon. It hath two large tanks that contain twenty months water for a thousand men, and likewise a strong magazine, casens² for the small arms and lodgments for the soldiers³, of which one company is constantly upon guard.

Since the Castle was built, they designed to dig a ditch⁴ on those two sides that were towards the land, the which they began and flung up the ground, leaving a torn land still visible about the Plumbtree Bastion, which being a prodigious mass of earth and stone, finding itself weakened as they flung up the earth out of the ditch, crack'd in three places and sunk several foot. This accident and the impenetrable rocks made them leave that design and fall to work for the securing the afore-said bastion. They flung out a large angular covered way with banquets⁵, by the islanders called a hoirwork⁶; and likewise

the said Bernady de Tavora in the possession thereof, provided he did not deprive the other heirs of the said Ruy de Souza of their rights and provided he did not sell, change or give the said village in any shape or manner whatever, without licence, as it was to fall entirely under the management of one person only."

In 1660 the Estate passed to Christavão de Souza de Tavora, who held it until 1671, when it became the property of Alvares Pires de Tavora, who forfeited it in 1673 for desertion of his post of commander of the militia at Mazagon, but was pardoned and reinstated in his property in 1677. In 1727 the proprietress of the manor was Donna Senhora de Souza e Tavora, who lived at Basscin. From this date the fortunes of the Estate began to decline. (*Vide* chapter on the Mazagon Estate in *The Bombay City Land Revenue Act*, by D. R. Vaidya and G. S. Gupta, 1931.)

¹ Teraplain, a variant of terreplein; strictly, the level place on which the guns are mounted between the banquette and the inner talus

² Casens, i.e. caserns, small (temporary) buildings between the ramparts and houses of a fortified town for the accommodation of troops.

³ The erection of barracks for the soldiers had been recommended by Sir Nicholas Waite in 1704, and in their letter to the Company of 31 January 1709/10 (para 22) the Bombay Council reported that there was then accommodation for 100 soldiers (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

⁴ Aungier, in his report on Bombay (O.C. 3910; *Home Series, Misc.* vol. 1), comments on the errors made by the first builders of the Fort in leaving the tank outside the wall and in not sinking a ditch or moat from which they could have obtained stone for the walls, "whereas they were constrained to bring the stone and earth from a far greater distance at vast expense of money and time"

⁵ Banquet, banquette, a raised way running along the inside of a rampart or parapet, on which soldiers stand to fire at the enemy.

⁶ Hornwork: a single-fronted outwork, the head of which consists of

there is a good counterscarp. Close by the sea and even with the Flagstaff Bastion is another battery, but that most to be noted is the curtain between the Flagstaff and double bastion, which lyeth so low and is so well mounted with cannon that no shipping in the Bay durst withstand its fire, and is a sure defence for all vessels who put themselves under its protection. It hath but one port [i.e. gate] (tho' formerly it had two), being in the center of the front towards the land; it is large and spacious, well lined with soldiers who stand with their arms order'd at the [blank] of any gentlemanlike person who comes armed into the Fort. To conclude, in a word; it is a pretty, neat, regular fortification, well governed, well gunn'd, well mann'd and well disciplined; the strongest hold our nation are masters of in India, witness the still durable marks of the enemies cannon legible in its walls, the actions of : 88 [1688-9] of which as followeth.

In the government of Sir John Wybourn¹, General, the two demi-bastions connected by a curtain and joined to the main body of the work by two parallel wings

Aungier, in his report on Bombay, gives a detailed description of two hornworks which would defend the two bays on each side of the Fort: "For quicker dispatch and to save charge they are made only of earth and to be covered with turfe, which the rains will in time settle and render as strong against any battery as the wall of the Fort itselfe" Fryer twice refers to them. He thought them "of greater undertaking and expence than ever to endure accomplishment by the Company" (vol. 1, p. 171). Whether that remark refers to the mud and turf hornworks or to later and stouter works is not apparent. But the turf-works were not a success and led to a quarrel between Aungier and Captain Shaxton, "the first ground of this quarrel being upon unnecessary appendices to the Fort, as pallisadoes in mud, so contrived, that they were rather a means to take than defend it, which afterwards were all washed away by the rains" (vol. 1, p. 304). It is possible that part of the hornwork mentioned by Burnell (probably "the hornwork without" the fortress which Sir Nicholas Waite ordered to be completed in 1704) was discovered in 1927 when the foundations of the new G.I.P. Railway long-distance terminus were being dug. A wall 6 ft. thick and 140 ft. long was discovered 4 ft. below the surface, and leading to it a tunnel 6 ft. wide and 8 ft. high was traced for a length of 240 ft. A teak door at the end of the tunnel was removed in excellent condition. The discovery was fully described by the editor of this book in *The Times of India* of 30 December 1929.

¹ Burnell is incorrect as regards John Wybourn, who was appointed Deputy-Governor of Bombay in 1685 and whose commission was annulled in 1687 (*Letter Books*, vols. VII and VIII). He consequently took no part in the events connected with the blockade of Bombay in 1689-90.

Sir John Child, Governor 1681-1690, had been empowered by the

Moors at Surat began to encroach upon our Factory by exacting of undue customs from the Company's merchants who traded there in their behalf, raising them from two and a half per cent to four; and although they made complaints of their hard usage to the Mogul and wrote often up to Court, yet they could not have redress, but sustained great damage in the seizure of large quantities of goods by the Custom House officers. The General having seriously considered on the past transactions, recalls the Factory, resolving to do himself justice by sea, and accordingly proclaimed open war with the Mogul, equips out a small fleet and took two Surat Ships, which were brought in to Bombay.

The Moors of Surat, upon these hostilities, complained up to Court to the Mogul, who takes [it] into his consideration and writes to the Sedey of Ragapore¹ to raise an army and drive us off the Island, who accordingly made preparations.

Whilst the enemy's forces were raising, Sir John Wybourn died and was succeeded in the Chair by Sir John Child, Bart.

Company either to induce the Mughal to disavow the increasing demands of his officials or to declare war upon him. Failing to obtain a satisfactory reply demanding reparation for losses and insults heaped on the English by the Governor of Surat, Child seized Mughal ships trading to the Red Sea and carried them to Bombay as prizes. In retaliation, the Mughal fleet, under Sidi Yākut Khān, blockaded Bombay with an overwhelming force and only the assistance obtained from the Marāṭha Rājāh, Sambhājī, enabled Child, with his small garrison, to hold out for several months. He was, however, eventually compelled to sue for peace. The Sidi's invasion lasted from 15 February 1689 to 22 June 1690. A diary of the events of this period is to be found in *FR*, *Bombay*, vol. III.

Sir John Child's endeavours to make terms were at first unavailing, but after much discussion, in September 1689, a preliminary treaty was drawn up by means of George Weldon and Abraham Navarro, sent to Bassein as envoys to meet the Mughal representatives. These two men proceeded to the Court of Aurangzeb to secure confirmation of the *farmān* obtained. They started in November 1689 and, while negotiations at the Court were in progress, Sir John Child died, on 4 February 1690, his death being popularly supposed to be hastened, as Burnell says, by the "grating articles" of the treaty. For a detailed account of "The Mission of George Weldon and Abraham Navarro to the Court of Aurangzeb," see the article under that title, by Harihar Das, in *Ind. Ant.* vol. LVIII, pp. 69, 93, 115.

¹ The "Sedey of Ragapore" was the Sidi Qāsim, *alias* Yākut, Khān. He was one of three Abyssinian slave officers who revolted against Fath Khān, the general of Bijapur who held Danda-Rājpuri and Janjira. He reconquered the former place, on the Bombay coast, from Shivājī. See *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.* December 1930, p. 150.

Mutual preparations were made and the Sedey accordingly ended. As to other transactions of note, a copy of some papers I have by me will inform you¹ as followeth.

Thus it was the opinion from the lowest to the highest, the fleet detained and the wars continued. By this time the enemy had brought them all into the Castle, now and then sending out parties, in which (tho' they engaged not) they seldom or never returned the complement they went out, their own men deserting to the enemy².

The Sedey having made himself master of Dungarey [Dongri] Hill, an eminence that commanded the Castle of Bombay, flings up a rampart and places a strong battery of cannon with which they played upon the Castle, then plundered the East India House (which was almost full of European and India goods) and afterwards set it on fire.

The General sends then two more ships well provided (which warped into Modey's Bay³) to drive them from their batteries, which they presently sunk, their carcases being still visible at low water. The enemy then mounted several mortars, being taught their use by some English deserters, and for want of shells, cut solid stones⁴ from the rocks, which they flung into the Fort, there lying still a great heap of them to be seen in the Castle. Thus did they possess the whole Island, the Castle excepted, on which they continued upwards of thii teen months.

¹ This is the first indication of the epistolary style of the account.

² The casualties were: 104 killed, 130 wounded and 116 "run away" (*FR*, *Bombay*, vol. III, entry under 22 June 1690).

³ Modey's Bay, commonly Mody Bay, was reclaimed, partly by Government, partly by private enterprise, in the 'sixties. It provided about 84 acres of land, including that now occupied by the offices of the Bombay Port Trust and the Ballard Estate.

⁴ Ovington also (p. 94) refers to the bombardment "with massie stones instead of iron bullets." The account of the invasion given in *FR*, *Bombay*, vol. III, has many allusions to these stones, which seem for the most part to have had little effect. The Sidi's munition factory, from which a stone cutter was captured, apparently realized this "shell scandal," and by March 1690 the enemy's mortars were firing "a large round stone cutt hollow and filled up with brimstone and powder... in the imitation of a shell with a fuze, but it did no damage, being not capable thereof unless itt fall amongst some kejan [palm-leaf thatch] combustable stuff. The enemy hath fired several of them butt wee tooke no notice thereof before this, by reason none of them ever fell in the Fort."

Thus the face of affairs stood when the General thought it proper to come to an accommodation with the enemy, considering the weakness of his forces and the want there was of ammunition and provisions in the garrison. At last a peace was concluded (tho' not so much to the honour of our nation as could be desired) and the Sedey left the Island; but it is most certain the grating articles were the cause of the General's death¹, who laid them so to heart that he died ere they were fully accomplish'd. Thus far have I given you an account of the ways on this Island. I shall now proceed with the remaining part of this jurisdiction.

The town of Bombay is divided into two distinct limits, the English and Black. The English town lieth to the southward of the Fort² on a large spacious green, mostly straggling. It consists not of many buildings and those but of one story; the chief are the Deputy Governor's, before which is a large tank. The barracks or soldiers apartment is a very good foundation, in imitation of Chelsea College; it is of a great length, answerable in breadth, on each side whereof is a fine piazza supported with stone pillars; three apartments for commission'd officers, for the better ordering and keeping a good decorum among the soldiers, and a large room, on each side whereof run two long tables for them to diet at with decency, a bell to call them at meal times and several other conveniences. To it there

¹ "This morning, between the houres of 5 and 6 of the clock, His Excellency Sir John Child departed this life and was buried from aboard the ship *Blessing*, the long boates and pinnaces well manned attending him ashore, where they fired 3 volleys, the Fort taking it from them fired small armes likewise, and so all the murchas [*? manchus*, cargo-boats] round about; and then the Fort fired 46 gunns, the ships taking it from the Fort fired in their stations" (*F.R., Bombay*, vol. III, entry under 4 February 1690).

Ovington (p. 95) alludes to Sir John Child's death as follows: "The General, before the terms of accommodation were agreed upon, dies; by a too deep concern, as it's presum'd, for suffering the Siddy to invade the Island; and for fear that such proposals in a Firmaun as might suit with the honour of his masters the East India Company, might not be hearkened to by the Mogol."

² The Fort and neighbourhood are described by Fryer (vol. I, p. 163 and note) and Ovington (p. 89). The "large tank" is depicted in the map reproduced as frontispiece to *English Factories*, 1665-1667, which Sir William Foster thinks is the work of Henry Gary.

belongs a barrack-master who is generally an ensign and whose post is very beneficial.

The church stands upon the green and is large and well built. It is carried up to the e[aves] and in all likelihood will never be finished. They left it off at the coming on of the wars and have not laid a tool upon it since. It begins now to decay, trees growing out of the stone work. It hath three large doors and on each side of the [a]isle run two rows of octagonal pillars. It is seated in a very bad place¹, seeing there is not two guns in the Castle will bear upon it. I advise it were pulled down, for should we have a rupture with the Dutch, they may chance to make use of it for a battery on it, whereon they may mount twenty pieces of cannon with ease.

Next is the garden, a square plat of ground, which they are bringing into some form by subdividing it into four more, leaving in the middle a cross walk that circles in the center, where at present stands an old cogam² summer house; but they talk of a new one, with a billiard table³. At present I can say no more of it, seeing when I left the place there was neither

¹ The site of the church had purposely been chosen in a central spot in order that the Indian population might be duly impressed "by the purity and gravity of our devotions" (Cobbe, *Bombay Church*, 1766). The church was begun by Aungier who, besides giving a donation to the building fund, left a legacy of Rs. 5000 towards its completion; but this could not be recovered from his estate. "The fact seems to be that no proper estimate was ever made and that the plans were drawn out on a far larger scale than was warranted by the money in hand. With the interruption of Kerigwin's rebellion (1683-4) the building came to a final stand, and the roofless edifice, fifteen feet high, remained a standing reproach for thirty years" (*Kerigwin's Rebellion*, pp. 169-70). The only reference to the church at Bombay that has been found in the letters to the Company from 1703 to 1712 is in 1705, soon after Waite assumed office. In a letter of 1 February of that year (para. 51) is the remark: "Recommend to the Company the Church which was partly built and is gone to decay" (*Bamb. Abs.* vol 1).

² Cogam, i.e. cadjan, coco-palm leaves matted, the common substitute for thatch. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Cadjan.

³ Cotton's *Compleat Gamester*, published in 1674, quoted in the article on Billiards in the *Encyc. Brit.*, proves that in Burnell's day billiards must have been well enough known, for we are told that "for the excellency of the recreation, it is much approved of and played by most nations of Europe, especially in England, there being few towns of note therein which hath not a public billiard table, neither are they wanting in many noble and private families in the country."

tree nor flower to be seen, nor any thing else except hogs and poultry, and a small kitchen ground at one corner which had hardly greens enough in it to compose one sallad¹.

Just by the gate is the well, large and deep, the habitation of frogs as big as wild ducks². This is the water which serves the Fort, town and shipping, therefore I mention it and wish I could report it wholesome, but it can't be expected, seeing it is dug in a ground whose nature is salt petre, not agreeable in the least to European constitutions³. The new bunder⁴ is opposite, on the other side of the green. It is a fine building, but was not finished when I came away, tho' I have been informed since that it is, and that they have flung out a pier for small vessels to lie along side to lade and unlade⁵. Adjoining it is a storehouse for the Company's effects, and stands where the old one did that was blown down in a storm⁶. Both this and

¹ In para. 38 of their summarized letter of 11 February 1709/10 (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1), the Council at Bombay wrote to the Court: "The Garden that lay uncultivated and scarce afforded sallatting is now taken care of and sown and in 12 months time will afford necessary herbs to all the shipping" From Burnell's remark, it seems as if the Council had been too optimistic.

² This picturesque analogy is used by Ovington (p. 88): "For spiders here increase their bulk to the largeness of a man's thumb, and toads are not of a much less size than a small duck." The same analogy has been used in our own time also. "The Indian frogs sometimes attain enormous dimensions, quite equal to those of a young duck" (Mark Thornhill, *Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official*, published 1899).

³ "The cold nitrous quality of the drinking water may be remedied by putting chalk in the Company's well" (letter from the Court to Bombay, dated 20 April 1708, quoted in *Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. III, p. 546). In contradistinction to Burnell's opinion of the water at Bombay, the Council wrote to the Company on 11 February 1709/10 (para. 36) "Since putting down the buckshaw [manuring with fish], their water is coveted by every body" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

⁴ Bunder, *bandar*, a term usually applied to a wharf, quay or harbour, is here used for a custom house on the quay. In para. 5 of their summarized letter of 6 May 1710 (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1) the Bombay Council reported to the Court that "the Bunder house" was "in a forwardness" and was "as high built as the windows. The upper rooms will be healthy and not subject to the damps of the lower floors."

⁵ This must be the work referred to in para. 27 of a summarized letter from Bombay to the Court, dated 19 January 1710/11: "Shall . . . finish the square where the Bunder was and make a landing place at the Seagate to low water mark and fix a crane there which will save the great charge of loading ships" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

⁶ Burnell seems to be referring to the warehouses erected in 1709/10, to replace those which were "mightily decay'd and illy scituate," as stated

the barracks were built by my worthy good friend Captain Euclid Backer¹, the present engineer, the one in the government of Sir Nicholas White [Waite] and this in his Honour Aislabie's.

There is likewise another Bunder at the landing place, where is kept a guard of a corporal and soldiers to look after those goods that are lodged there. To this belongs a boatswain who is under the purser marine. His business is to look after sea stores and provide water for shipping. Here always, up and down, lie great quantities of guns and anchors, and such gross goods that catch small detriment in being exposed to the weather.

Adjoining is a long rope-walk², where they make store of coarse cables of the husky part that comes off the coconut.

at a consultation of 15 June 1708, when "the most proper place for such building, as also for a house for the purser marine," was agreed to be "where the old Bunder stood," with "the two houses next adjoining." In their letter to the Court of 11 February 1709/10, the Bombay Council reported (para. 34) that the building of two large warehouses and a house for the purser marine and other servants was in progress and that "the carriage saved thereby will more than answer the expence in a little time" (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. IV, *Bomb. Abs.* vol. I).

¹ Captain Euclid Baker spent many years in Bombay. The date of his arrival has not been ascertained, but in 1698 and 1699 there are entries in the Bombay Consultations of sums paid to him for "garrison reparations." In 1703 he was "Master Gunner at the Castle" and "Chief Clerk of the Fortifications." In 1708 he was ordered to make a plan of Bombay "and therein of the Castle and all the out forts," to be sent home to the Directors, but in their letters of March 1710 and April 1711 the Company complain that it had not been received and in their letter of 1 May of that year (para. 21) the Bombay Council wrote: "Could not get a plan of the Island ready" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. I). It is doubtful if it was ever completed, for, in March 1712, Captain Baker was found to have been "very negligent in his employ" and was superseded by Luke Matchett. He, however, continued to draw his salary of £50 per annum as "Engineer" until his death, on 1 October 1714. At a consultation held on 31 January 1715, Stephen Strutt, the "Accomptant," requested bills of exchange on the Court of Directors in favour of Copernicus and John Baker for £800, "being legacies left them by their brother Euclid" (*F.R., Bombay*, vol. V, *Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. IV).

² Rope-walk. There is still a remembrance of this in the name Ropewalk Street (from Military Square Lane to Rampart Row). Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, published 1813, describes (vol. I, p. 170) the ropewalk "which for length, situation and convenience, equals any in England, that in the King's Yard at Portsmouth only excepted; and like that, it has a covering to protect the workmen; cables, and all sorts of lesser cordage, both of hemp and coir, are manufactured here."

They make them as in Europe. They are very serviceable and lasting, most of the country vessels having their rigging made of the same, at which the natives are very expert.

The Hospital¹ stands on a point near the sea, and is a strange old fashion'd, ill contrived thing. It is seldom empty, occasioned from the unhealthiness of the place. It is enough to make a man die with the thoughts of going into it, for it stands hardly fifty yards off of a high grave. Then the concert of some hundreds of jackalls every night shall awake him to his meditation, to think what a dainty morsel he is like to make them. Few enter it above the degrees of soldiers and sailors, especially of the former; so many have gone in ill and have come out so well that they never ailed anything after². Tho' a physician and doctor is allowed by the Company and are yearly supplied with chests of fresh doses, yet I am too sensible that many of my fraternity going under their hands, never lived to tell the excellency of their medicines.

Adjoining is seated the most famous European repository in the East, Mendums Point³, a name more terrible to a sick

¹ This was the hospital of 1676, which became known as the Old Hospital after the erection of the New Hospital in the Marine Yard some time before 1733. See *Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. III, p. 596.

² The authorities at home were not so callous regarding the fatal cases in the hospital as Burnell would have us believe, and the heavy death roll amongst the garrison had always caused great concern both to the Bombay Council and the Court. At a consultation held on 20 November 1704, Sir Nicholas Wrote recommended that, besides the erection of barracks and shelters, there should be "wholesome dieting" for the "English souldiers, with what else may contribute preserving their healths, easing the Company of that great charge annually sending out numbers for being buried on the Island, for want of such due care as aforesaid." It was agreed that this recommendation, which was thought to be "decent and convenient" should "imediately be put in execution" (*Bomb. Public Progs.* vol. IV, pp. 6, 8, 9).

Again, in their letter to Bombay of 28 April 1708 (*Letter Book*, vol. XIII, p. 358), the Court sent explicit instructions as to the care to be bestowed upon their sick servants, who were to be supplied with "fitting physick and food and accomodation and all endeavours used for their recovery." They added that, though such treatment was "no more than common humanity," they had "a further reason to enforce it, namely, our own benefit, for every souldier we send you stands us in above twenty pounds in charges of raising, gratuity, cloths, dyet money on board till the ship sails, and charges of the passage."

³ Mendum's, more commonly Mendham's, Point is shown on old maps at the southern extremity of the Island on which stood the Fort,

Bombaian than the Inquisition to a heretick: a cormorant paunch never satisfied with the daily supplies it receives, but is still gaping for more, tho' it hath swallowed more English flesh than the Bengall Tamarind Tree¹, Madras Guava Garden² and the Green Hill at Bencala³; yet still it hath room for those

separated from Old Woman's Island by a narrow stretch of sea. The name has dropped out of use, but so late as 1833 it was shown on a chart as Mendin's Point. It has long been known that the Sailors' Home (now part of the Legislative Council building) stands on the site of the old cemetery and, when trenches were dug for the foundation of the Council Hall, in 1928, human bones were discovered in profusion. An article (by the editor of this book) in *The Times of India* of 31 January 1928 describes the scene: "Workmen came across human bones quite early in their operations and, affrighted lest evil spirits should be disturbed, they downed tools. But they were soon persuaded to resume their work, and day after day they have laid bare more bones. In many cases the bones have decayed to powder and few of them are intact, no traces of coffins have been found. As a result, almost any of these trench walls displays a kind of chess-board pattern. The original soil is of a light grey colour: in the graves from which fragments of bone protrude, the soil, disturbed in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, is of reddish colour, and so closely packed were the graves that, of the alternating patches of red and grey, in places the former predominate. The top two feet or so of soil is filling, probably of a much later date, and this fact shows that the original graves were but little below the surface. There was indeed very often scarcely time to dig deep. Sir John Gayer, writing to the Company in 1702, complained of the small number of soldiers sent out and the danger of invasion. 'This number,' he eloquently pleaded, 'sometime will not satisfy the craving of Mendham's Point above halfe one month.' When this cemetery was razed to the ground, it is possible that a record of its graves was kept, but, if so, it does not seem to have survived."

¹ Sir Evan Cotton suggests that "the Bengall Tamarind Tree" may be a reference to the old burying ground at Gholghāt (Hūgli), which was the headquarters of the New Company until 1704. The burying ground at Fort William (Calcutta), which now forms the enclosure to St John's Church, was in use in 1707, and in October of that year the Council agreed to build a hospital on "a convenient spot, close to the burial ground." It was in use even earlier, for the mausoleum of Job Charnock was erected not later than 1697.

² A Fort St George consultation of 29 November 1716 (quoted in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. II, p. 120) refers to the "Burial place, commonly call'd the Guava Garden." Its site is now occupied by the Law College (*op. cit.* vol. I, p. 113 n.). Fryer (vol. I, p. 109) refers to this "English Golgotha" as being "nearer the outside of the Town."

³ Sir William Foster, Mr C. E. A. W. Oldham and Mr W. H. Moreland are all of opinion that a burying ground at Bencoolen, Sumatra, is meant, but no allusion to a "Green Hill" has been found in any description of Bencoolen or in the Sumatra records dealing with that factory, although the excessive mortality in the settlement in the early days of the seventeenth century is duly emphasized. Sir William Foster points out that

numbers twice told, and when those are digested, it will be as ravenous as ever.

Weathering this small point is more difficult than the Cape in the month of July. I once plied hard, and tho' but a sorry sailor, made a shift to get to windward, tho' abundance in trying, wreck themselves thereon. I wish every body may have the good fortune as I had and mind to be thankful for their deliverance.

It lieth in the packary of Apollo and received its name from a Portugueze, who built the large, square brick structure and designed it for a chapel, that the usual form might be performed over the defunct therein, before committed to their earthly habitation. It is large and uniform, to which you may ascend to its top by a narrow staircase. By some it is believed he is interr'd therein, and therein lieth the mistake, for he lieth under a small arch'd tomb on one side

It yields a most noble prospect as you lay in the road, and is a great ornament to Bombay, containing above a hundred and forty large tombs¹, whereof 28 have high spires, others pyramidal, and abundance built like summer houses with tomb tables in the center. The most remarkable are the Cork-screw, Capstern and my Lady Gear's tomb, first wife to Sir John Gear², late General of India. It is a noble structure and takes up near a hundred foot square, having four gates and a handsome court before you enter the tomb, to which you ascend by steps. It is a hollow square within, the outside being emboss'd with pillars and cornish³ work, the top covered with a cone surmounted with a pyramid and looks white as alabaster.

I had forgot the Shuffle Board Table⁴, under which lie the the Malay name for Bencoolen is Bengkaulu and that Dampier calls it Bencouli. In the *Papers of Thomas Bowrey* also (p. 261) the name appears as Bencola.

¹ The tombstones were razed to the ground about 1762 in order that a clear field of fire from the Fort might be ensued, a new burial ground having been made ready in Sonāpuri ("Padre Burrows' godown"), which is still to be seen by the side of Queen's Road.

² Sir John Gayer, who was appointed Governor of Bombay, with the revived title of General, 17 May 1694.

³ Cornish, obsolete term for cornice

⁴ Shuffle Board, a common variant (still used in the United States) for

Company's writers. It is of a prodigious length, but I believe they have stopp'd its growing by looking out for themselves other apartments, not caring to consort like the soldiers, who lie there in rank and file, whole regiments of them. Their burial is but mean; neither are they allowed coffins; besides the jackalls tear them out of their graves, burrowing in the ground like rabbits, to prevent which, they keep them down with rockstones, being all the sepulchres they have to their memory.

Five ministers lie together in one tomb¹, four at the corners and one in the center, like the specks on a die. They have inscriptions cut in the chanam²; neither is Latin or poetry wanting, each according to his fancy, some having coats of arms, others weathercocks and sundials on them.

The Black Town is divided into several streets and lieth on the north side of the Fort. The houses are mostly cajand and the buzar indifferent large and well supplied. In it is a house for the clerk of the market to sit, to deliver out his chops³, and hath the gallows⁴ behind it.

The Mandave⁵ is more like a stable than a Custom House. It is seated at the extremity of Bombay Town, towards Dungarey, upon Mody's Bay. In it resides the custom-master who is one of the Council, taking account of all goods imported and exported, for which they pay 5 per cent. Here is a pretty good trade drove with small craft, the chief commodities

Shovel Board, on which was played a game that is much the same as the modern "Shove 'apenny" The game is described in the *O.E.D.* as one "in which a coin or other disk is driven by a blow with the hand along a highly polished board, floor or table (sometimes ten yards or more long), marked with transverse lines"

¹ Stephen Flower, John France, Peachey Wattson, John Church and George Watson all served as chaplains at Bombay between 1674 and 1710, but the death of only the last named is recorded. He arrived in the *Tankerville* in 1709, and the season proving "very mortal," he died in 1710 (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1, letters of 11 February and 10 November 1710).

² Chanam, i.e. chunam, prepared lime, fine polished plaster. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Chunam.

³ Chop, Hind. *chhāp*, seal, impression, stamp, also used for passport, licence.

⁴ The gallows and Phānsī Talao (gibbet pond) were on the site of Victoria Terminus.

⁵ "Mandvi, which is written Mandovim in Portuguese documents and Mandavie in early English records, is the ordinary Marāṭhī word for a Custom-house" (*Bomb City Gaz.* vol. 1, p. 26)

being rice, doll¹, butter, gue [ghce, *ghī*], oil, coconut, coger², cotton, fish, fowls, fruits; and there is likewise a Guard House mounted by a serjeant, corporal and topasses to see that no body defraud the Company of their customs and to suppress all disturbances.

Next in order is Colay, called by the English Old Woman's Island³. It lieth south of Bombay and is joined thereto by a ledge of rocks, over which the water flows at spring tides, but passeth through four channels at high water, and at low it falls wholly dry⁴.

Its length is near two miles and in breadth hardly a quarter, and half of dry ground, tho' on the west side is much mangrove⁵ and rocky land, which stretcheth out near three quarters or a mile into the sea, visible at low water.

It is low land and subject to two divisions, Moae and Paunt⁶. Moae is a large ortte⁷ or wood of coco trees, and is part of the Company's estate, which by improvement is become very beneficial to the donors [*sic*, ? owners], having three large chanam kilns, which is made of shells and is accounted more lasting than the lime stone. 'Therē [? These are] seated con-

¹ Hind *dāl*, a kind of pulse.

² The *g* is the copyist's error for *y* and the word should be coyer, coir, coconut fibre—the "husky part that comes off the coconut," as Burnell calls it (*supra*, p. 23).

³ See *ante*, note 3 on p. 7. In para. 27 of their letter to the Company of 11 February 1700/10 the Council at Bombay wrote: "Old Womans Island purchased by President Aungier to breed cattle on, but the lease for 700 Xs a year to the Jentues being near expiring, shall employ it on the Companys account" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

⁴ At a later date this channel was generally crossed in a ferry-boat worked on a rope. The landing-place in Bombay was where the Colāba Police Station now is, a fact recorded by an inscription in the compound there, which also states that the crossing was 800 yds. The causeway was projected in 1820, started in 1835 and completed in 1838, widened in 1861–1863.

⁵ Mr Fariokh E. Bharucha writes, "Burnell frequently mentions mangrove bushes growing in Bombay. They are to be seen today, the nearest being between Bāndra Bridge and the Slaughter House. Though there are many species of mangrove growing there, the majority are not true mangrove but what is known as *Lumnitzera racemosa*. I have seen a fine specimen of the true mangrove, *Rhizophora mucronata*, along the creek, a little way off Bāndra Station."

⁶ It has been found impossible to identify these names or to trace their use in any other record of Bombay.

⁷ Oart, Port. *orta*, more usually *horta*, a coconut garden.

veniently at the end of a small channel by which gallivats¹ come up to lade therewith. Adjoining is a Moors² sepulchre adorned with lamps, flags, and other fancies, according to the custom of their country. At the end of this grove is another channel which divides it from Pauntt; but the water never flows over except on a high spring.

Pauntt lieth to the southward of Moae, being adorned with several high palm trees that are marks for the Bay. Likewise it is honor'd with the sepulchre of Sir John Child, which is large and spacious, being a mark³ for the Sunken Rock on the back side. 'Tis a twisting staircase which runs up to its top,

¹ A kind of galley or war-boat with oars, of small draught of water. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Gallivat.

² Burnell uses the term "Moors," as was usual with writers of his day, to mean Muhammadans generally.

³ Further evidence of the tomb being a recognized mark for mariners is given *infra*, pp. 91 and 92. Captain Henry Cornwall, *Observations upon several Voyages to India out and home, 1720*, gives (p. 37) the following in his "Directions for going into Bombay": "When the tombs on Old Woman's Island are in one, you then steer clear of the Sunken Rock, and when Mazegun House is open a sail's breadth to the eastward of the Fort you go clear of the Oyster-Rock." His sketch which, judging by his representation of Bombay Castle, is obviously not intended to be exact, depicts the tombs as two small round towers side by side (whereas there was a considerable space between them), one with a lantern top, the other with a spire flanked by finials. Possibly Sir John Child's tomb was that which was destroyed in 1759 when, on the proposal of Major Mace to erect certain false sea-marks and to disguise others, it was determined to destroy one of the tombs on Old Woman's Island, instead of disguising it, and to erect a false one in another place (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. II, p. 460). That hypothesis becomes perfectly tenable if one assumes that, for some reason or other, the epitaph was never carved and so recollection of the man to whom the tomb had been erected would have passed away.

The two tombs, Sir John Child's and the Jew's, mentioned by Burnell, became known as the North Tomb and the South Tomb. I identify Sir John Child's as the North Tomb because in Captain Cornwall's sketch the North Tomb is the larger of the two. Captain W. Nicholson's chart of 1778 shows the North Tomb at the northern extremity of the southern island of Colaba (described on the chart as Old Woman's Island), which does not support the theory that the tomb was destroyed in 1759. The South Tomb is shown on a chart of 1862 near the site now occupied by the Baptist Church. Commander Kinch, R.I.M., to whom I am indebted for the trouble he has taken in this matter, concludes, after a study of the old sailing instructions, that Sir John Child's tomb was on a line bearing on the highest point of Malabar Hill from Sunken Rock. That line cuts across the narrow part of the Colaba peninsula just south of the Parsi Sanatorium. The tomb, on the harbour foreshore of Colaba—since extended by reclamation—would have been near Admiralty House or Stone House.

where through an arch'd door you enter the balcony, where you have a charming prospect of Bombay, Mendon's Point, and the ships sailing by in the offing, likewise enjoy the pleasure of refreshing breezes. The tomb is well contrived and is not only an ornament to the place but a benefit both by night and day, for over an arch'd window on the twisting staircase is an iron ring bolt for a beacon to be hoisted as a notice to ships that they may not fall foul on the back of the reef, but be careful by its light to direct their course into a safe harbour.

In the front is a large port opening with two latticed doors, to which you ascend by steps. Being entered, the tomb lieth in the center, raised like to an oblong table. It had no cut inscription, but one I found there wrote with pen and ink on the chanam, which [I] copied, it running as follows:—

JOHANNIS CHILD MILES

O Solitude for contemplation free
 For mortal man to think on God's decree;
 As dust thou art to dust thou shalt return.
 Be serious for a moment, think and scorn
 Mans life's a bubble, vanity, a doubt
 Which like a blaze it flash's and soon goes out;
 Tho' here lieth honour, life it could not save;
 The King and beggar's equal in a grave.
 Inspire me now, let me thy glories tell
 And those rich virtues which in thee did dwell.
 Of Honours thou hast reach'd the lofty top
 Above ambitious thought or greedy hope;
 Thou well hast tried the times and chance of war,
 Where like the King you represented were
 In noble feats well fought in Glory's school
 And like thy master knewest how to rule.
 But see thy end, thy dust uniteth more
 Unto the sands upon the Asian shore.
 Think, mortal, think, see excellence lieth low;
 Observe thy time; so tides do ebb and flow.
 O spend it well, those minutes you've to live
 For Death to Empire will not grant reprieve.

Here rests his body whose soul in Christ doth trust;
 In sacred silence lieth entomb'd his dust.

Near it is a large square tomb under which, as I have been informed, a Jew lieth, and opposite is the Oyster Rock¹, of which [?more] when I come to treat of the Bay.

From hence away to the westward runneth out a large ledge of rocks and much mangrove land. The mangrove trees are not high, but extraordinary thick. When I was on my survey here I used to meet some pleasure, going in among them with my piece, did commonly set out fifty or threescore jackalls at a time. They would fly like the wind and were always too nimble for me, for I never could shoot one. These are their lurking places in the day time, where sometimes they meet with fish and of nights go ravage the mansions of the dead. They are in all respects like a fox in the head, but are otherwise of a doggish nature.

From hence a reef of rocks trends away almost to the point Malabar Hill, except a channel or two that lets into the Back Bay². On the hills side they appear visible at low water, and I have been inform'd, when the pagans were absolute, it was a causeway to the aforesaid point.

The extremity of this Island turns round of bluff, having an indifferent high hill which, first rising with a gentle ascent, terminates in its heights. It hath good ground on the top for a fortification and is seated as commodiously as can be desired for commanding the Bay; but at present nothing is built thereon³.

From this head trendeth out a reef of rocks⁴ near four miles and a half into the sea. They end in low points, being forked, which are always under water. I wonder they han't buoys thereon, seeing they are so dangerous, though the marks to carry you clear are indeed extraordinary good; and that, I judge, may be the reason.

¹ Oyster Rock, a flat rock about 70 ft. high, now surmounted by a battery, lies about half a mile from the shore and is one of the principal rocks in the harbour.

² Back Bay, the shallow bay lying between Malabar Hill and Colaba. The main front of the Castle faced the harbour, and Back Bay would therefore be regarded as being at the back of the Castle.

³ A Signal House was established on Colaba about 1766 and the Lighthouse was built about two years later (*Bomb City Gaz.* vol. 1, p. 58).

⁴ The well-known Prongs Reef, on which a Lighthouse was built—1½ miles S W by S. of the Colaba Lighthouse—in 1870.

'They lie dry at low water upward of a mile I measured forty-seven chains and believe I might have measured fifty more, had not the tide set in at the rate it did, like to a sluice, which obliged me to run, or rather stumble, over the rocks, and had much ado to be beforehand with the tide.

On these rocks grow prodigious numbers of oysters which are a little of the largest size. They eat very well in the dry season, but in the rains are but mawkish and unwholesome. Thus far Bombay.

Dungarey includes the packerys of Cambela¹, Valksuze², Grigon³, Cavell⁴, Caredaw⁵ and part of Derong⁶, being the largest jurisdiction on the Island, and contains as followeth:

	Derong	...	...	...	in Dungarey.
	Point Derong	...	...	...	{ Dungarey
					{ Nogenā.
	Caredaw	...	...	...	Colāia.
Dungarey...	Cavall	...	...	...	Drud.
	Gregon	...	...	...	Gregon.
	Cambela	...	...	...	Malabar Hill
	Walkoshsher	...	...	...

[Dungarey] contains five hamlets, *vizt.* that part of Derong that lieth within this jurisdiction, two, *vizt.* Dungarey and Nogenā⁷; Caradaw contains Colarey⁸; Cavall, Drud⁹; and

¹ Cumballa. Burnell spells it Cambela, Cambala and Cambella.

² Valksuze—which Burnell also spells Walkoshsher, Walkessher, Walkoshet—is Walkeshwar. It is compounded of *valuka* (sand) and *Ishwār* (God) and signifies the god of the sand. It owes its origin to the legend that Rāma, when on his way to Lanka (Ceylon) in quest of Sītā, halted on the very spot where the Walkeshwar temple now stands (see *Bomb. City Gaz.*, vol. III, p. 359).

³ Grigon or Gregon: Girgaum.

⁴ Cavell or Cavall. Cavel, which seems to be a Portuguese rendering of Kolwāi, a Koli hamlet (see J. G. Da Cunha, *The Origin of Bombay*, p. 7).

⁵ In the sailing instructions given *infra*, p. 91, Caredaw Hill is apparently the same as the Garlic Hill of *The English Pilot*. Garlic Hill is shown on more than one old map (e.g. in a chart of 1810) as lying between Dongri and Mazagon.

⁶ See note 5 on p. 7.

⁷ Nogenā, or Negonā, may possibly be connected with Mar *nirgundi*, which is said to survive in the modern Nickdavarī Street and to be a vernacular name for a tree, *Vitex negundo* (*Bombay Place-Names*, p. 113).

⁸ Koliwāda. See *infra*, p. 47.

⁹ Drud, which Burnell later (p. 41) describes as "a small village," though "of no great remark," has not been identified.

Gregon one after its own name. The two packerys of Cambala and Walkessher include all Malabar Hill, tho' it hath no hamlet. Of each in its place. And first, Derong.

The remaining part of Derong puckery that lies included in this jurisdiction runs as it were in a strait line from Dungarey Fort¹ and terminates in the Back Bay.

¹ Dongri Fort, of which Burnell gives the fullest account extant, has long since disappeared, together with the hill on which it stood. Its history subsequent to Burnell's command may be traced in the *Bomb Gaz.* (vol. xxvi, pt. II, pp. 268-423), from which it will be seen that after the Town Wall had been completed, in 1716, the parapets were thought to be not stout enough for purposes of defence and "should the town be attacked . . . our people would not be able to keep their posts on the walls, especially on the more exposed part facing the hill of Dongri." It was therefore ordered, in 1739, that Dongri post should be put in a state of defence, and, in the same year, in view of the danger of a Marātha invasion, the merchants of the town offered a voluntary subscription towards making the town more safe and the "Marātha Ditch" round the walls was accordingly begun.

A survey in 1752 showed that there were 19 guns in Dongri Fort, of which two were 18-pounders, but many of the gun carriages were unserviceable; and during the ensuing years, when the French and not the Marāthas were the enemy most to be feared, there were many anxious discussions as to what should be done about Dongri Hill. In 1758 Major Mace reported that Dongri Fort not only commanded that part which was defenceless but even the whole town itself "Were an enemy to possess themselves of Dongri, which I apprehend not difficult, they might from thence batter the Mandvi bastion and their shot, plunging throughout the whole town, not only greatly favour any attack but if they pleased lay the town in ashes." He accordingly recommended either that the hill should be enclosed and brought within the town, or that the works on it should be destroyed and the hill levelled. Major Mace had yet another proposal—that a new line of fortification should be constructed from sea to sea from Dongri to Back Bay, and this plan was ordered to be undertaken. But the Court in London put its foot down, objected to the pay sanctioned for military overseers, stopped all such works "as can possibly be let alone," and added that "our engineers, when they get abroad, seem either infatuated or suffer themselves to be grossly misled."

But the problem of Dongri Hill had to be faced and opinion gradually came round to the idea that the best way to deal with the potential danger from the hill was to remove the hill itself; and a report by Lieut -Colonel Campbell, a Bengal officer, settled the matter. Dongri Fort was blown up and so by slow degrees was the hill on which it stood, the earth being used for filling up adjacent batty grounds, and the stones for ballast in ships or for filling in Mody Bay. And, on the forenoon of 1 January 1770, Colonel Keating, the principal engineer, laid the foundation-stone of a new fort at Dongri and, by order of the Governor, Mr T. Hodges, named it Fort George in honour of his Majesty King George III. This new fort was joined up with the bazar ravelin of the old Fort of Bombay by means of communications. There was much talk of fortifications—after the manner

'This garrison [of Dongri Fort] is seated on an eminence of a dry rocky soil, fronting to the Bay. On the land side it riseth with a gentle ascent, but to the sea board is almost perpendicular, fortified by nature as well as art, being an oblong square of four bastions, whereof two are round, another cupt or cut, and bears some resemblance to an irregular tunnel [*sic*, ? funnel].

They are under the denomination of the Flagstaff, Spur, Cup and North West Bastions. The Spur is but small, admitting but of five embrasures, tho' it is well built and hath under it a very good magazine. In the center is the guard house and officers apartments, which are very decent and so contrived that, as the house is a square answering to the obliquity of the fort, in the inside at equal distances rising all round the walls are raised buttresses of four feet high, their use being that in case the Fort should be stormed, for the garrison to repair into, having first barricaded the port, and standing on these buttresses, fire on the enemy through loopholes contrived in the eaves, they then lying open to the shot of the besieged, and to force them to abandon the Fort, they being excellent close quarters and much in the nature of those used on board our English ships of war.

In it is likewise a large tank holding near 700 tons of water and on its rampiers¹ and bastions are mounted 24 pieces of ordnance, being of different bores, as from saker² to demy cannon. A square place is likewise included in the Fort, capable of drawing up fifty men, the garrison consisting of that number, whereof General Aislabic was pleased to intrust me with the command something upwards of eleven months, it

of My Uncle Toby—of ravelins, banquettes, envelopes and ramparts; and by the end of 1770 it was hoped that Fort George at Dongri would be above the power of an assault from the most vigorous enemy.

Fort George stood for nearly a century, until it was levelled, together with the rest of the old fort walls, in the regime of Sir Bartle Frere (1862-1867). St George's Hospital now stands on the site of Fort George; and a small part of the old fort remains to this day within the hospital compound, as a reminder of bygone excursions and alarms and of the now vanished hill which was once the key to Bombay.

¹ Rampier, a variant of *rampire* (now obsolete), a rampart.

² In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the term "cannon" was applied only to a large piece, the smaller varieties having various distinctive names.

being always in the charge of a commission officer. The gentleman I relieved was Captain Andrew Scriver, and by whom I was relieved, Captain Owen Davis¹.

That part of the Fort that regards the south, by reason of its altitude, commands the Castle of Bombay, for whose defence it was built, being distant therefrom something upwards of half a mile, and is likewise the northern point or boundary of Mody's Bay. It was on this summit that the Seddy, in the late wars, raised his batteries against the Castle (discommoding it very much, the Fort being not then built)², the remains of which are still visible, in the which now stands a guard house for sepoy, three companies of which belongeth to this garrison, whose duty it is to see all quiet without, and inform the centries, who are posted on the bastions, of any accident that should arise, who conveys it to the corporal or serjeant, and he to the commander, the garrison having no out guards or posts that are maintained by Christian soldiers, these sepoy taking charge thereof, as those do on Malabar Hill to none else of any remark. Out of these sepoy are likewise detached those that attend the General, of which there is constantly a company in waiting.

On musters and reviews, the Council resident in Bombay that represents the Deputy Governor (for unto him doth the immediate charge of this garrison belong, which in time of war

¹ In para 122 of the Bombay General Letter to the Company of 25 March 1708 there is a remark: "Ensign Scriverius to serve in some of the out Forts" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1), and it was probably at that time that he assumed charge of Dongri Fort. After Burnell relieved him, in 1711, "Lieutenant John Andrew Scriverius" was placed in command of the 2nd company, a post which he held up to the end of 1713. There are no consultations extant for the year 1714 and his name does not appear in 1715 (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. iv).

That Burnell handed over his charge to Lieutenant Owen Davies is confirmed in the consultation quoted in the Introduction.

² At a consultation held at Bombay Castle on 4 January 1695/6 the "fortifying Dungkery Hill" was seriously considered, "the workes (which are onely of great stones) being now run up soe high as there wants onely a parraphrett to be built for its more security." It was agreed that "the said stones should be pointed with chenam for the better security of [the] parraphrett, a parraphrett" of 5 ft. thick to be built on the "north side and that side that fronts the Portugueze Church, and on the other side" one of 2½ ft. thick of "chenam and stone" (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. iv).

he is obliged to maintain) is always present. The respect paid him is to detach a serjeant and twelve men, who receive him with arms rested, at the foot of the hill, from thence conducting him into the Fort. The officer receives him at the port, his men being drawn up in good order. Having pass'd current, the muster master of the out garrisons signs your roll, as doth the officer likewise, who delivers it to the General, which having examined, he orders you into the treasury, where you give a receipt for so many hundred xeriphens¹ as is due per muster, then ordering the shroff² to draw out the money, appoint him a time to come and pay your men; which is different from the practise in use at Fort St George [Madras], where one of the Council is generally Paymaster, and here you have the advantage of paying them yourselves. The first and last months pay of those soldiers who take up or lay down arms in the Company is the perquisite of the officer, as likewise the liberty of cloathing, and in case of mortality, the coat and cap of the deceased, the livery of this garrison being green faced with red³.

In this Fort is the only prison⁴ for debt on the Island; others are likewise committed for theft, murder, riots, or the like. The serjeant of the rounds likewise hath orders, who walk constantly at nine, to bring in all abuseful, lewd and suspected persons, who must there give an account of themselves. Those for debt are generally committed or cleared by the General and Councils orders, and when discharged, have free liberty to depart, paying the customs of the guard, which is a xeraphens to the commander and a half to the men on duty, and is one of the principal perquisites the commander hath belonging to him.

¹ Orme's copyist has misread this word in several instances and usually writes it "xeripheus," but as he occasionally has the form "xeriphen," it has been so rendered throughout the Account. For the derivation of the term and its value, see the remarks on the coins of Bombay, *infra*, note 1 on p. 112.

² Shroff, Ar. *sarrāf*, banker, money-changer, assayer.

³ For the uniforms of the garrison, see *ante*, p. 12 and note 3.

⁴ For details of an earlier jail, in the Mapla Por building, see *Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. III, p. 608. The date of the establishment of the jail in Dongri Fort cannot be traced. It was demolished in 1739 when the Fort was strengthened.

The guard is mounted and relieved every morning at the hour of seven by 25 men, the one half being constantly upon duty and the other off. They are taught their exercise three times a week, at which they are very expert, and will run through their evolutions with great exactness, tho' it is something troublesome at first to bring them to a right understanding of, and observe a due time in, the motions.

At ten, with the Tattoo, the guards turn out and the gates are lock'd, and at five next morning, with the Travally¹, they open; nothing else notable in the internal parts, saving the officers, which are a cob², or Portuguezse ensign, two serjeants, two corporals, a drum and a gunner.

As to the external, I have already said something, but shall now beg leave to say more. On the east side of the Fort, that which fronts the Bay [Mody's Bay], the precipice is so steep, and the massy rocks appearing bare and ragged, that it would be madness for an enemy to attempt it this way, seeing nothing would attend them but inevitable destruction. The curtain in which the port is, is seated so near the brink of the precipice that the passage to it (which windeth three [*sic*] thirds round the garrison from West to East) is passable but by one man abreast, and he too must be mindful of his steps, lest he stumble and break his limbs among the rocks, which hath proved of dangerous consequence to several within the limits of my memory. At the bottom of this rocky eminence is a fine even spot of ground bordering on the Bay, on the which I designed to cast up a parade two hundred and fifty feet square, and fac'd it with a battery towards the waters edge, for to exercise the soldiers on, that in the Fort being something of the smallest. I had gone a considerable way on with it, but stay'd not to see it complete.

On the northern bounds of the Fort the hill continueth its length about a stone's throw, when it ends with a gentle descent. It is thickly covered all over with Moors tombs, the

¹ Travally, i.e. *revuile*. The *O E D.* gives examples of the word being spelled, as it is often pronounced, *revalley* (1696) and *revallie* (1755).

² Port *cabo de esquadra*, corporal. There is a reference in *F.R.*, *Bombay* (vol. III, 14 December 1689), to a "coffice" being sentenced to death for shooting his "cabo or commander."

sepulchres of those who received their fate in the wars. They are brick, chinam'd over, of different forms, and lie directly north and south¹.

To the west, at the foot of the hill, lieth the town of Dungaey, which is large, tho' irregular, and joineth on the north with Coollerry², being one of the largest fisheries on the Island.

Under the commander of the Fort, it is governed by twelve aldermen, as we term them, though the natives call them dolecars³, who are annually chose to preside as head over the rest of the members. These constitute other officers called Muckedoms⁴, who are overseers of the fishery and go out with the boats. Their business likewise is to call the people forth to their occupations, and upon refusal or negligence, have power to drub or set them in the stocks, most of the inhabitants being slaves⁵ to the Company, especially those at Mazagon.

Their boats, which they use on these occasions, are called gallivats, being built long and sharp at both ends, made

¹ "The graves of Muhammadans are so dug as to allow the body to lie with its face towards Makkah. consequently in India they are dug from north to south" "The corpse is placed on its back in the grave, with the head to the north and feet to the south, the face being turned towards Makkah" (See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. Burial and Graves.)

² Coollerry, Koliwāda. There were six Koli hamlets in Bombay Island (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. 1, p. 9). J. G. Da Cunha (p. 40) says there are three or four Koli tribes in Bombay, "the most influential being the Dungaī Kols, so-called from the hill to the south of Mazagon. They are fishermen and seamen, some of considerable wealth for their social position."

³ Dolecars. *Dolkār* (Mar) is a dooly-bearer. In a letter of 15 June 1720, however, quoted in *Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, p. 143, "dollars" are described as "owners of large fishing nets." Neither definition fits in with Burnell's "aldermen" and it is probable that he misunderstood or failed to recollect the term used.

⁴ Muckedom, Ar. *mukaddam*, a headman. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Mucuddum. In their letter of 18 April 1706 (para. 121) the Bombay Council informed the Court of the appointment of a "new muckadom or conservator of the fishery" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

⁵ In the sense that the phrase is here used it must mean that the Kols were liable to be impressed for forced labour. But the import of slaves from Madagascar and Africa was recognized from the early days of the British occupation of Bombay (*supra*, p. 12, n. 2).

capable for the receiving of forty or fifty men, tho' they are seldom sailed with above six or seven. In the midships is stepp'd a mast, to which they hoist a peak sail¹, and belay the jack either to windward or leeward without ever lowering the yard.

They go out of a morning, forty or fifty in a fleet, to the fishing stakes, which lie off the Middle Ground, and there lay all the day, having generally one of the Company's monchews² or yachts for their convoy, for fear of Corining gallivats³ which sometimes pillage and make slaves of them.

These fishing stakes⁴ are large spars of timber, as thick as a topmast, spliced together, to the length of a hundred and twenty or thirty feet, piled down firm into the ground in rows, two or three hundred in number, by which the boats ride and to which they fix their nets. They are at great expence to erect

¹ Mr G. S. Laird Clowes tells me that "peak sail" is an uncommon—though suitable—name for what is obviously a lateen sail in which the peak or upper corner stands much higher than the mast. He adds that "the identification is confirmed by the remark about the tack (for which 'jack' is an obvious copyist's error) being belayed either to windward or leeward."

On gallivats, for which see note 1 on p. 29, Mr Laird Clowes gives the following additional information: "Gallivat must be derived from the Dutch *galyoot*, Anglice *galiot*, which, besides its definite Dutch meaning, seems to have been used very generally in the eighteenth century for any small Eastern craft. The vessels in question appear—with their double ends—to be what are now called at Bombay 'Arab *dhangis*,' but the modern vessels have an additional small mizen mast."

² Monchew, usually manchua, the Portuguese form of Mal, *manji*, a large cargo boat with a single mast and a square sail. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Manchua.

³ Corining gallivats. Mr C. E. A. W. Oldham is of opinion that "Corining" represents "Karanjan," i.e. "of Karanja," the peninsula, called "island," about six miles S.E. of Bombay, where the pirate vessels probably lurked.

⁴ "The stakes are from 75 to 100 feet long and are generally made of two or three logs of wood nailed together. They are placed upright between two boats often loaded with stones, and the boatmen drive them a few feet into the mud by hauling at ropes fastened to the tops of the stakes. At high tide the ropes are tied to the boats and, as the tide falls, the weight of the boats forces the stakes firmly into the ground. . . Nets are made of hemp grown in Māhim and Umbargnōn. When the nets are finished they are boiled for twenty-four hours in a mixture of lime and water in the proportion of one part of lime to ten of water. They then require a soaking in *vagal*, a mixture of *ain* or *chilhari* bark and water, every fifteen days" (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. XIII, pt. 1, pp. 57-8).

them, it being 100 xeraphins fine to any ship that shall run one of them down.

Their nets are long and strong, made of the bark of a tree of a dark brown complexion. The meshes are wider or narrower according to the use they design them for. They are very curious [particular, fastidious] about them in mending the least decay and as careful in preserving them when out of use, laying them in long stone cisterns, three or four feet deep, to which they put the bark of a tree pulverised and mix'd with the water in which they lie, which, they say, mightily strengthens them.

The fish that they catch are carvens¹, pomflets and Bombay cows². Of the last I never saw any, but hear and believe from hence it is they have their name. They are about as large as a herring, being of a slimy nature like the blubber, and just drest are no ways palatable, though they have an excellent art in curing them, stringing them through the joule on long lines and exposing them to dry in the sun and wind. Others they spin into ropes, and make them up just like roll tobacco. These are an extraordinary commodity in the inland countries.

But of every boat the Commander of the Fort can demand a fish as his perquisite. This is termed a wellgat³, though he seldom requires more than enough to serve him for one repast, their plenty making them purchasable at small and easy rates.

West of Dungarey, over the baty⁴ grounds, is seated a hamlet called Negona⁵, containing two streets, the principal being of a considerable breadth. At the upper end thereof is

¹ See *infra*, p. 82, for Burnell's description of the fish he calls "carven, carvana."

² The "pomflet (pomfret)" is the well-known *Stromateus cinereus*. "Bombay cows" are undoubtedly the fish called bombil, bumbelo or bummelo (*Harpodon nehereus*), which are still dried by the "excellent art" to which Burnell refers and are known to Europeans as "Bombay duck."

³ Wellgat: "Wellgate, that is local Maiathi *helgat*, guard-pay, a word still in use for presents to sepoys" (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. 1, p. 157). Also "wolgate," "due from the fishery and wood boats" (*op. cit.* pt. III, p. 440).

⁴ Baty, batty, Canarese *batta*, *bhatta*, rice in the husk, paddy.

⁵ For "Negona, Nogena," see note 7 on p. 32.

a large spacious convent and church¹ belonging to the Portuguese of the Order of St Francis, whose inside is extraordinary beautiful, the altar being adorned with variety of images. Fronting the church doors are two great crosses, the sight of which and the hours of Trinity [*sic*, ? Terce] call the zealous Romans to their beads. You pass these and enter a fine shady lane, which brings you into the road to Grigon (opposite to the Back Bay), on the right hand side of which, on a rising sandy ground, for upwards of a mile, is the Moors repository, being filled with a multiplicity of tombs, they burying as with us, only with this difference, the head lying north and the feet south, though I have read somewhere that the Mahometans bury with the face always turned to Mecca².

At the end of this dormitory the road passeth through Drewd³, a small village in the puckery of Cavell, tho' of no great remark, the houses being mudwall'd, thatched with coco leaves platted in the nature of a mat, and are by the Portuguese termed *olias*⁴; being laid a considerable time in water, they change of a brown colour, and then, being doubled, are tied down to the rafters with which the eaves are covered.

The road continues from hence extremely pleasant, having on each side fine ortts or plantations of coconut trees, till you arrive at Grigon [Girgaum], an indifferent large town in a puckery of the same name. It is built straggling, being seated in a bite [bight] of the Back Bay, at the foot of Malabar Hill. The inhabitants are mostly fatendars⁵ or farmers, whose

¹ Esperança Church, "Our Lady of Expectation," built by the Franciscans probably before 1596. It stood about the middle of what is now the Victoria Terminus. It was demolished in 1760 for military purposes, being within 400 yds. of Bazar Gate, and was rebuilt near the cross which now stands on the Marine Lines Maidan. In 1803, being within the 1000 yds. clearance from the Fort, it was rebuilt at Bhuleshwar, where it now stands and where it has become a cathedral.

² See note 1 on p. 38.

³ For "Drud, Drewd," see note 9 on p. 32.

⁴ *Olias*, Port. *ola* or *olla*, adapted from Mal. *ola*, a palm-leaf. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Ollah*.

⁵ *Fazindars*. For an account of the kind of sub-tenure between a private proprietor and his tenants, known as "*fazindari*" (Port. *fazenda*, estate, farm), see *The Bombay City Land Revenue Act*, by D. R. Vaidya and G. S. Gupte, 1931, pp. 93-96.

husbandry consists in batty and coconuts, the Company here employing an officer for the due gathering in of their rents, and on the northwest bounds is a tank¹ full of variety of game. Hither the General often comes, when he is minded to take the air, attended with the gentry and ladies of the Island, some in pallanquins, some in coaches and others on horseback, always going in great splendor, with led horses, the Silver Staff and Union Flag carried before him; which since my departure is much augmented, having now a squadron of horse to wait and attend his commands, cloathed in rich liveries, their other accoutrements being answerable².

Being arrived and alighted, a curious cold collation is orderly set forth on large Persian carpets, under the spreading shade of lofty trees, where variety of wine and musick exolurate [exhilarate] the spirits to a chearful liveliness and renders every object divertive. He sometimes orders out his tents and stays the whole day, not confining himself to any one part of the Island, but where his inclinations lead him to, where nothing but joy and mirth abound in pleasant songs and dances, till the night calls him to his duty in the Castle, out of which he never reposeth.

Malabar Hill includes the two puckereys of Cambell [Cumballa] and Wallkosher [Walkeshwar]. It runs out nearest N.E.b.N. an[d] S.W.b.S., being upwards of two miles in length. Its north eastern end is in breadth about half a mile and south western to a point. It is the southern boundary of the *Great Breach*, which hath forced itself in between this hill and Worley, overflowing the land quite into the heart of the

¹ Possibly some predecessor of the Cowasji Pātel tank (built about 1780 and filled in within recent years).

² This description of the General's elaborate picnics is largely based on the account in Ovington (pp. 232-3) of the parties given by the President at Surat. Ovington does not mention the "Silver Staff," i.e. chobdar (Pers. *chob-dār*, mace-bearer, attendant), but Fryer, who also gives an account of the state observed by the President (vol. 1, p. 178) "when he walks or rides abroad," refers to the "Silver Staves." In their letter to the Company of 9 May 1706 (para. 40) the Bombay Council reported that the "company of sepoy or waiters on the Governour" had been discharged, "being a superfluous expence," and that "six to ten Christians" had been appointed "in their stead, to be taken out of three standing Companys" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

Island, tho' at low water it falls dry¹. The northernmost point of all, which formeth itself into two round hills, is called Deowdongar², of[f] which is a small rocky spot, which tails away to the southwestward, between which is much broken ground.

The hill thence is of an indifferent altitude, being of a ragged stony soil, thickly overrun with shrubs, trees and milk bushes, which last is a shrub used in these countries as hedges for the boundaries of inclosures; but here it grows wild³. It is a shrub near sixteen feet high, growing extremely full of branches. It appears to be all stalk, tho' it hath leaves, but those so small that they are many times not observable. It appears of a lively willow green, the stalky parts being very brittle, which forc'd into a circular form, will break and eject a thick white liquor, like milk, which is of a poisonous quality, and applied to the eyes will cause blindness.

This first eminence runneth but half the breadth of the land included between itself and the sea, the other being fine, low ground of a deep black soil, productive in rice, and is called the lands of Cambella, being part of the Company's estate. It hath in it a large tank⁴ or two, in which is both fish and fowl in great plenty.

About the middle the hill falleth out with a point, upon the low land of which is the remains of a fort contrived, though

¹ It is noticeable that, although Burnell writes of the work undertaken to dam the breaches between Worli and Māhim, and between Māhim-Dhārāvī-Sion, he says nothing of the more difficult work on the Great Breach which was begun, after many years of discussion, in 1711 and abandoned in 1718 before being eventually concluded in 1721-1723. He had probably left Bombay before the work was begun.

² See note 3 on p. 4.

³ Probably *Euphorbia Tirucalli*, a small tree with round stems and smooth branches. Its wood was described as "so material a part of the composition of gunpowder and is solely designed for that use." Orders were issued in 1741 for it to be planted (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. III, p. 505). The acrid juice "is so very painful when applied to wounds or to the eyes that cattle are fully aware of this fact and will not attempt to break down a hedge of it" (Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 531).

⁴ One of them was presumably the Gowalia tank on the slope below the hill, filled-in about 1912 and now a public playground.

never perfected, by engineer Cooper¹, the gentleman who built the castle. Here is still visible part of the rampier lying in a circular form and about six or seven feet altitude, the stones lying pil'd one upon another, rough as they were broke from the rock, without any manner of mortar to cement them together.

The coast is all along very rocky, and on which the sea breaks till you come the length of the Walkeshies [Walkeshwar], where are two indifferent large pagodas, the most remarkable on the Island². The one is dedicated to Mihesh [Mahesh, Mahādev], which they shew you in a room, over the door of which is a stone table with Brachman characters³ tho' what it imports I know not. The room is square within, round which is a considerable number of niches in which are lamps burning, and over, in the nature of a ceiling, is a canopy of red cloth, in the center of which hangs down a rope of flowers. Under it is a black stone like a hatter's block, seated in another flat one, tho' of broader dimensions, with rims or a ledge round it, and a mouth to emit water. This, as well as the stone in the middle, was almost covered with flowers, and was the god they adored. In one corner stood likewise a small pillar, and by it four ordinary stones placed one upon another. The uppermost had the head of a man and trunk of an elephant. This was the god Gunis [Ganesh]. By him two cobra capells in brasswork and a pretty large bell adjoining; and before the door in the varanda, the god Nunde⁴, being a pretty large stone image in shape of a buffalo.

The other pagod is consecrated to Cristna [Krishna], who is carved in a dancing posture, with his legs across, playing upon the fife. He is seated upon an altar full of flowers, and hath, to bear him company, the goddess Bagawoty [Bhagavati], wife

¹ John Cooper acted for Colonel Bake, in charge of the fortification work (1676), and took charge of it on the latter's death in the following year. He was reported to be very ill in 1686 (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. II, pp. 270-272).

² Richly carved stones from these temples are still to be seen near the Walkeshwar Temple, which was built about 1715 (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. III, pp. 359-361).

³ Devanāgarī characters.

⁴ Nandi, the sacred bull in Mahādev's temple.

to Miash [Mahesh or Mahādev]. She is cut out with twelve hands and pictured fighting with a cow, the head of which being stricken off, shoots up into a mighty giant, by the name of Ravan [Rāvana], he being the mortal enemy of the gods.

Adjoining is a neat and beautiful tank¹ with large stone steps down to the waters edge. It hath likewise two flagstuffs, whereon they hoist colours on days of solemnity, and a guard house for sepoys on the brim of the hill, whose business is mostly to look out for shipping and send to inform the Fort if they see any in the offing.

From these pagodas you ascend the summit of the hill, where you have a fine walk and pleasant prospect of the distant ocean and the lower lands of Bombay and Colay [Colāba] Island, it leading to the extreme point of the hill, fare and even, intersecting in your passage here and there a passed [*sic*, ² paved] causeway of square flat stones of a greyish grain, near ten feet in breadth and in some places twelve or fourteen fathom in length; but then you lose it, it burrowing under the turf and shrubs that grow over and eclipses the sight, till after the eye hath diligently search'd about to pursue its hidden tract, you shall see it rise and continue its direct course till the earth again intervene, and so following it in a strait line, it leads you to its termination in the ruins of an ancient and once noble pagod², now in a pile of rubbish, being blown up by the religious Portugals when they possess the Island, exterminating as much as possible the Gentile's idolatrous worship and to remove that moat out of the Pagan's eyes without ever so much as dreaming of the beam that hung in their own.

All that is visible now of it is a square chamber of about twelve feet [long] and nine deep, lined with stone and so excellently contrived that there was not an ounce of mortar in

¹ This tank, which is credited with the possession of marvellous spiritual properties, still survives. It is called the Bāngangā, or sacred stream of the arrow, the origin of which is variously ascribed to Rāma and Parashurāma, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. There is another venerated tank near the temple, called the Rāmkund (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. III, p. 362).

² The original temple of Walkeshwar, built by the Silāhāras of the north Konkan, destroyed either by the Muhammadans or the Portuguese (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. III, p. 359).

the whole architecture when standing, but the stones were cut square, answering one another. Those that lay under had notches cut into them (like as in our stone structures that are to be joined together with lead), and those that were to be laid upon them had in the same form to those notches rais'd work cut on the stone, so that being fix'd in their proper places, the rais'd work of the upper stones let into the notches of the under, cementing them together so as to keep the building firm and immovable.

There is likewise the remains of some extraordinary good sculpture, and several bases and capitals of pillars of several orders, to all [*sic*, ?totally] different from those we use in Europe, tho' indeed are really worth observation, being cut by very good hands, tho' all broke and decayed, lying in a heap of confusion, as here the leg of a god, and there a head; a god is without a nose and another is without an elbow, all lying scattered up and down, according as the strength of the blast was pleased to disperse them, tho' something of beauty is still legible in the remaining part, its front prospect, and but a small matter of that visible, being almost intirely buried with rubbish.

A half bowshot off the pagoda is the Point of Malabar, being a very high eminence¹, and falls down to the sea steep too, having innumerable cragged and sharp pointed rocks hanging all the way down to the bottom, from whence taileth out a long reef into the sea, due west, a quarter of a mile above water.

Upon the extremity of this Point is a chamber so contrived by nature that [it] is very surprising, the rocks being form'd square and lodging into one another so openly that you would [not] imagine how they held together, being all hollow underneath and nothing that is visible to support them. The chamber will admit four people and [the] hollow by which you descend [is] so narrow that it is as much as a man can do to squeeze through it. The Gentiles are of belief that if a woman suspected of adultery is brought hither and made to descend as a trial of her innocency, which if she doth without obstruc-

¹ The Point is 260 ft. above the Town Hall datum.

tion, it is a certain sign she is clear, but if she sticks by the middle and cannot move one way or the other, she is then an adulteress. I advise fat women to keep as far off this place as they can, for if they come within the orifice of its descent, they are certainly reputed whores. By the inhabitants it is called Seergund¹.

From hence Malabar Hill trends away to the bite of Grigon, forming the northwest limits of the Back Bay. Near Seargund [Sri Gundī] is a small guard house for sepoy down by the sea side, whose business is to look out that no enemy attempt to pass the channel that letteth into the Back Bay on that side, and land in the obscurity of the night, it being a convenient place for such a design and nothing near to disturb them.

Quite from Grigon [Girgaum] to the channel of Cola [Colāba] Island is a fine white sandy bay, on which it is pleasant walking of an evening, enjoying the benefits of a fresh scabreeze. There is nothing else remarkable on Malabar Hill but the Persian tomb² of which I shall treat more at large hereafter.

Caradaw puckery joins to Derong³ on the south and terminates at the descent of Caradaw Hill to the northward, where the out rounds of Dungary and Mazigon meet. It hath but one town of note in it, called Colorey [Koliwāda], the inhabitants being fishers, and joineth in point of government with those of Dungary. Of publick structures it hath none but two small pagodas on the back of the town, behind which is a large tank. The pagods are those of Mombidivia⁴ and Gunis

¹ Sri Gundī, the Yoni or Stone of Regeneration, described in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 387-395. Shivāji, Kanhoji Angria and Raghunāth Rao, Peshwā are said to have passed through this cleft (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. III, p. 360).

² This is the first Tower of Silence or *dakhma*, built between 1672 and 1673 (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. III, p. 369).

³ See note 5 on p. 7.

⁴ The original temple of Mumbādevī or Mumbar is supposed to have been constructed and attended by the Koli fishermen of Bombay, and was situated near the old Phānsī Talao (Gibbet Tank) on a spot now included within the limits of the Victoria Terminus of the G.I.P. Railway. The temple was demolished in one of the early eighteenth-century clearances made necessary when the ground outside the Fort walls was cleared, and rebuilt on its present site. There is a shrine to Ganesh within the Mumbādevī Temple enclosure.

[Ganesh]. Mombidivia is seated in a poor hovel upon a small altar bedeck'd with flowers, her head being three times bigger in proportion than her body. It is painted red, hath two eyes and a nose, but never a mouth, and makes a most terrible figure, her forehead being adorned with the Braminy mark, on which are some grains of rice sticking to it. In the niches of the room are several lamps and two stones in the fashion of pillars, about 10 feet high. This is held by the Brachmen to be the Patroness of Bombay¹.

Gunis is seated in much such another habitation, being cut out of a large solid stone and placed on a square altar, on the left side of which is a concavity for the water wherewith they wash the god to be convey'd. He hath hardly any eyes visible, his nose being like the trunk of an elephant, and turns at the snout like the end of a monkeys tail. He hath four arms and sits so straddling with his knees that the soles of his feet are joined together before him. He hath a small altar for offerings and an earthen pot with a handle to burn incense in.

The next jurisdiction is Mazagon. It joineth Dungarey to the southward and Suree [Sewrī] to the north, being divided into 5 puckerries and comprehends two towns, as those of Mazagon and Nowgar². The puckerries are, Voll, Owrain, Mogurwowree, Morrain and Matterworee, besides which the two hills (or rather one distinct chain) of Caridaw and Vezorea³, which are included in no distinct limits or divisions.

¹ Bombay is generally supposed to derive its name from Mumbā. The derivation of Mumbā is fully examined by the late Dewān Bahādūr P. B. Joshi in pp. 38-9 of *A short sketch of the early history of Bombay: Hindu Period*. He considers that Mumbā comes from Ambā, another name of Bhawāntī, the consort of Shiva. Ambā is also called Mahā (the great) Ambā, "and by the Kolis and other illiterate persons the word Mahā-Ambā is generally pronounced as Mambā or Mumbā. The suffix ai, signifying mother, is a term of respect applied to Hindu goddesses."

² Naugar was part of the Mazagon Estate. When the Estate was let in 1767 the first lot put up was "Naugar including Ghodap Dev" (*Bomb Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. iii, p. 445). The name seems to have gone out of use, but in the form Nowghur it is shown in Captain E. Dickinson's map, 1812-1816, to the N.W. of Mazagon Docks.

³ This list is perplexing. Voll may be the Puckravol, "situated in the Mazagon Estate," mentioned in the *Bomb Gaz.* (vol. xxvi, pt. ii, p. 458). In confirmation of this suggestion Sir Charles Fawcett has drawn my attention to two references in *Bomb. Public Procs.*, one from a consultation of 14 March 1706 (vol. ii) regarding the letting of "the lands called

That of Caradaw is to the southward of the other and riseth with a pretty steep ascent of a dry broken soil, having on its top the ruins of a bulwark or two, the works which the enemy had raised when they harrass'd the Island. On its declivity to the eastward is a pleasant wood and a passage through it to Mazigqn, and by the waterside runneth out into the sea much mangrove land. The northern end of the hill, or that called Vezoria, descendeth gently into a valley, the top being crowned with variety of trees, among which the tamarind is of worthy remark.

The tamarind tree¹ is very delectable to behold, being likewise very full of spreading branches, the leaves growing like to the box tree in England, but are shaped something more longer, and not of that hardness with the forementioned, but more pliable. It shooteth out a white flower, which hath no grateful flavour, which falling off, produces its fruit in shape of a peascod, being filled with a row of stones, covered with

Puckerawoll lying near Mazagurin towards Bombay," and the other from a consultation of 15 November 1723 (vol. v) where the "Ort Puckerwal" is mentioned. Mogurwowree may be Mogulpāra, shown on Dickinson's map as south of "Mount Kolewaddy" or Ghorupdeo Hill. Sir Charles Fawcett notes that in vol. VI of *Bomb. Public Procs.*, under date 26 April 1728, there is an entry regarding letting out "waste ground along the Back Bay," and that among the items is "one place called Mugawaree," but that this place, though similar in sound to Burnell's Mogurwowree, is evidently in Girgaum and not Mazagon and therefore cannot be identical with it. Matterwores may be Mattarwadi. There is the present-day locality known as Matarpakhadi, which is described in the *Bomb. City Gaz.* (vol. II, p. 396) as being a part of the Mazagon Estate, which included Byculla.

Caridaw Hill is apparently Maneckji Naoroji Hill, sometimes shown in old maps as Garlick Hill (see note 5 on p. 32). It was 173 ft. high, 2400 ft. along south to north, and had a maximum width of about 500 ft. situated close to the G.I.P. Railway lines between Sandhurst Road and Masjid Bunder stations. The height was reduced, and the whole aspect of the hill changed, by operations started in 1910 by the Improvement Trust, in order to get rid of insanitary buildings on it. Before then it had been partly cut away, for it had an abrupt face on the eastern side, due to quarrying in bygone years (Da Cunha, p. 223).

Vezorea may be identified with the "Hill Visorain" near Umarchadi (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. XXVI, pt. II, p. 437) and with "Verry Hill" (Da Cunha, p. 223).

Owrain and Morrain have not been identified

¹ The *Tamarindus Indica*. Its flower is pale yellow streaked with red. That tamarind trees were at one time abundant in this neighbourhood is suggested by the survival of such a place-name as Chinchpokli, i.e. tamarind dell (Mar. *chinch*, tamarind).

a brittle shell, which incloseth the pulp, being of a pleasant acid quality, and is a good commodity in Europe. I need not treat of its virtues, so well known to every druggist, but shall proceed to the description of another tree which groweth here and to view appears to be much of the same species.

By the Portugueze it is called Roba de Gall¹ and appears like the tamarind tree both as to its colour and shape, being of a pale green hue. It hath this difference to distinguish it from the tamarind, that whereas the leaf of the former slips out, growing 24, 26 or 30 upon one stalk carelessly, the Roba de Gall seemeth to retain a more affectedness, carrying out his stalks in the branch at right angles and beareth a red flower of four filaments.

The valley at the bottom of this hill is in the pucker of Voll, being another part of the Company's estate.

Here runneth in a small bille² and sandy bay, on the banks whereof is a place of interment and a cross erected, being as I have been informed the repository of those soldiers who fell when Lieut. Anthony Nangle was drove back by the Sedey's forces, he losing then his ensign, Mr. Alexander Monrow³,

¹ Puzzled by this phrase, Mr W. S. Millard consulted Prof. R. S. Truop of the Imperial Forestry Institute, Oxford, and the latter wrote to the Director-General of Medical Services in Portuguese India, from whose reply it appears that the name should be *Rabo de Galo*, of which the botanical name is *Caesalpinia (Poinciana) pulcherrima*, the large shrub—both the yellow and red variety—usually called in Bombay the Gul Mohur shrub. *Rabo de Galo* (crest of a cock) is known in Goa as *Crista de Galo* and in Konkanim as *Combea shencar*. The Gul Mohur tree (*Poinciana regia*) is known in Goa as *Rabo de Pavao grande*.

² Bille, a variant of bill, a narrow neck of land, promontory: cf. Portland Bill.

³ The "Sedey" landed about 2.0 a.m. on 15 February 1689, and soon after the alarm had been given "Lieutenant Nangle, who was quartered at the East India House, marched out with Captain Clifton's Company as far as his advance guard, which was at the seven brabs." He subsequently became engaged with largely superior numbers, and "his men being all soe tired by the soe farr marching and engaging could not hold out, therefore concluded to goe to Massigun Fort and use their utmost there... The General ordered Lieutenant Paul Paine out with Captain Vauxes his Company to the relief of Lieutenant Nangle, who by that time he had gon to the foott of the hill of Massigun; there the enemy came running downe upon him and engaged one another, but being overpowdred by the enemies number, makeing his retreat, lost his ensigne, Mr Alexander Mon Roe and four men, and the party that was carrying

who was killed in this valley at the foot of Tomberree¹ hill, which here riseth with a steep ascent, its top being adorned with a multitude of palmero or brab trees², of which as followeth.

The palmero is a straight bodied tree, from 14 to 16 inches diameter and in height a 100 or 120 feet, being free from either branch or leaf, till at the top, where it shooteth forth a round [blank], the stalks of the leaves growing one over another like the leaves in a cabbage. At the end of the stems are the leaves, growing in a circular form, and open and shut like a fan, being very large, some five feet diameter. When it hath arrived to maturity, which is several years first, in or near the center at the top groweth up a small long stem, near the thickness of one's wrist, one, two or more than two, in a tree, which in time will open and disclose a stalk coming from its heart, branching out into a diversity of twigs, on which are the flower[s], in colour like to ripe corn, which having pass'd their bloom, fall off and make room for the nuts to grow, which they do to the bigness of your two fists, the shell being covered with a thick husky coat like the coconut, whose superficies are of a smooth pale green; in the shell the nuts are inclosed to the number of three and are indifferently well tasted.

But if by the care of the husbandman these stems from whence the nut is produced be hindered from coming to

Lieutenant Nangle's provision all cutt off" (*F.R., Bombay*, vol. III). According to Hamilton (vol. I, p. 219), the General sent out "a minion of his own, one Captain Pean" to repel the invader, and "Pean" ordered "one Monro, who had been a soldier at Tangier, to be his Lieutenant. In Tangier he had received a wound in his heel that spoiled his running." Then Captain "Pean" ran away and "poor Monro, thinking to stop the enemy's career by a part of the wing that he commanded, found himself deserted by all but 13 or 14 stout fellows, who were soon surrounded by the enemy and cut to pieces."

¹ Two other references by Burnell to this hill make its identification possible, although the name Tomberree does not appear to have been used by other writers. On p. 55 there is a reference to the great house of the "De Soses" on this hill, i.e. the "Mark House" (see note 1, p. 53). On p. 91 is another reference to the Old House of Mazagon on this hill. This latter reference also occurs in the sailing directions in *The English Pilot* (see note (4) on p. 91), in which the hill is called Mazagon Hill. Tomberree is therefore Mazagon Hill, which is to-day known as Bhandarwāda.

² The palmyra or brab tree (tad), *Borassus flabellifer*.

perfection by an incision made on its top of about six inches, and an earthen pot applied to the orifice, then that liquid which ascends through the body of the tree for the nurture of the nuts will distill into the pot, which in a night's time will emit near the quantity of a quart of a thick greyish colour like unto whey, but of a more nobler tast and generous quality, being sweet and pleasant and so glutinous that the purest, or what first comes from the tree, will fix your lips together. It is of an enebriating quality and easily intoxicates, being the palm wine of Givy, tho' here they either call it toddy or suree¹.

It is very diverting to see the Banderes² or Indians that look after these trees ascend to such an elevated height, being right perpendicular (as I have said before) upwards of a hundred feet. They do it with a small band, in which they fix both feet, and placing them against the tree, then with another rope brought round its body, they likewise fix it round theirs, which keeps them from falling backwards. When they are thus harness'd, they will swarm up with incredible swiftness, having a basket hanging on the right side into which they put the toddy, and a case with their tools in, to use if there should be occasion, as their knife, and which is just like the sickles we reap our grain with.

The basket will hold about a gallon or five quarts, made square at the bottom and round at the top, work'd so closely together that although it hath no lining, [it] will not emit one drop, so well are they contrived.

I have often early in the morning taken a walk thither and seated myself on the grass, while the Banderes brought me toddy and had made me a cup of its leaves covering it with a piece of the bark, whose fillements grow like the threads wove into cloth, the one crossing the other, and is an excellent strainer to keep out the ants, flies and such liquorish animals who have, tho' inadvertently, drowned themselves in the toddy.

¹ Skt. *sūra*, vinous liquor.

² Banderes, i. e. Bhandāris, one of the oldest communities in Bombay. Palm-tapping is an hereditary occupation with them, but many of them have become clerks or are engaged in trade.

The wood of this tree is not serviceable timber, being of a stringy substance, but so hard that it is not penetrable, as I have often experimented by firing pistol balls against it, which would always glance off and very often scarce leave the mark behind them.

To return. This hill runs nearest east and west. At the east end it falls down in steep declining rocks and on the west it shooteth out to the water's edge, being a pretty high promontory, on the top of which is built a large square house¹, being formerly the estate of the De Soses². It serves now as a mark for shipping to avoid the Sunken Rock that side which regards the bay, being yearly whitewash'd on the Company's account, having before it a fine flat parade which would make a noble battery for guns and command the town of Mazigon much better than the fort it hath.

At the declivity of the hill to the northward lieth the town of Mezagon, included in the three puckerys of Owrain, Mugerworree³ and Banderwore [Bhandarwāda]. It is indifferent large, having a small bazar and three long streets that run parallel to each other. At the upper end of the main is seated a large beautiful church; dedicated to Nostra Sennora De Gloria⁴ and belongs to the Order of St Peter⁵, there being erected before its front porticum a large cross with steps each way to ascend. It is a pretty pleasant town, seated on a sandy bay, and hath a spring of the best water on the Island. The

¹ Burnell's "large square house" is the Mark House on Mazagon Hill, which was kept regularly whitewashed during the early years of the eighteenth century, and was in 1758 let to Mr Thomas Byfield, one of the terms of the lease being that he should whitewash the front of the house once a year "to continue a mark to the shipping coming in or going out of the harbour" (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. 1, p. 57).

² See note 3 on p. 15.

³ See note 3 on p. 48.

⁴ Gloria Church, originally the family chapel of the De Souza family, who held Mazagon in perpetuity from 1572, was elevated into a parish church in 1596, was enlarged from time to time, and finally rebuilt in 1810. When the division between the Padroado and Propaganda jurisdiction took place, in 1794, Gloria Church became the head church of the Padroado section and was sometimes, though erroneously, called a cathedral. It was transferred in 1912 to Parel Road and rebuilt on a much larger scale.

⁵ Possibly a popular name for the Observantine branch of the Franciscan Order inaugurated by St Peter of Alcantara.

inhabitants are mostly Christian Indians and employ themselves in fishing. They were formerly slaves to the De Soses, and when they left the Island in the late wars, were confiscated to the Company, tho' I have heard others say in a time of dearth and famine they sold themselves to the Company for subsistence.

On a rocky point of land at the extreme boundaries of Mazagon town is the fort¹, being nothing but an old thatch'd house with four iron culverins in it, mounted on ship carriages, and is remarkable for nothing but holding out against the Seady. It hath a flagstaff on its south end and is commanded by a serjeant who hath a corporal and twenty four men under his care, they belonging to the company at Mahim; besides which it hath a subadar and ten sepoys who maintain a small guard on the back of the fort.

Here the sea hath made a breach over the low land, running in with two channels, one mouth of which being commanded by the fort and a small blockhouse cast up of loose stones on the opposite point, called Mortsaw². In this creek the Company's small vessels are laid up in the monsoons, and [it] is likewise a good harbour for laying a vessel of 3 or 400 tons aground either to mend or cleanse her bottom.

The town of Nowgare³ is seated on the S. W. boundary of this harbour, being but small, and contains but one street, a small distance from which riseth the hill Nosa Sinoro De Mounto, to whose top on solemn days the inhabitants walk in

¹ Mazagon Fort never seems to have been regarded as of much importance. A survey report in 1752 (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. 11, p. 290) shows that there were only two 3-pounder guns in it, one mounted on a very old ship carriage and the other on an unserviceable ship carriage.

² Sir Charles Fawcett suggests that Burnell's "Mortsaw" may represent Aungier's "Moihem" (Mochem, Mucher, Manchum, Mochumbo) and he has an elaborate note on the subject (*Aungier's Report on Bombay*, p. 14), which should be studied in this connection. On the other hand, the entry from a *Bombay Journal* of 1722, quoted in the same note, goes to prove the identification of Moihem (Munchum) with the locality of Matunga, and in that case Sir Charles Fawcett remarks, "it is against the identification of Mortsaw with Mucher or Munchum, in spite of the similarity of sound, for Burnell places Mortsaw near Mazagon Fort with a creek in between."

³ See note 1 on p. 48.

procession¹, there being portals erected in the way that leads to it, which on these occasions are adorned with images and bright illuminations, the whole clergy of the Island assisting, carrying the Host under a canopy of state and singing hymns and anthems and other rites of their religion. I remember I was once there at our Saviour's carrying the cross, which having² ascended the hill and being placed in a receptacle built purposely for it (the image being in large proportion), there was such *shoving and squeezing to come near and kiss the soles of its feet and rub their beads on its legs*, crying and shewing such contrition for their sins, as if they really took the image for the glorious body it represented. In such a blind belief do these fathers train up their disciples that their devotion is nothing but downright idolatry, having nothing but the name of Christians to distinguish them from heathens.

On the descent of this hill towards Mazagon is a fine grove of large spreading trees and adjoining a long garden inclosed in a brick wall, belonging to the great house upon Tomberree hill. It is now ruined but shews a faint shadow of its once flourishing state, being adorned with shady bowers, terras walks, and a large tank having stone steps down to the waters surface all round it, and at one end a noble summer house two story high, the loftier apartment being painted after the Portugueze manner. The architecture is very good, as is likewise the portal of the garden, being adorned with the arms of the De Soses, to inform inquisitors to whom it appertained.

The remaining part of this jurisdiction stretcheth away to the northward till hindered by a large breach³ of a further extent, its utmost bounds this way being Derong hill, a small island made by the eruption of the sea. It is in the pucker of Matterworey³ and thence runs off to the southwestward, round part of the breach (which is very large and hath much mangrove and ouzu ground falling dry at low water) till it

¹ No tradition survives of any such procession on this hill. There is a Cross on the south spur of the hill but no Shrine of Our Lady.

² The breach to which Burnell here refers is apparently not so much that between Mazagon and Parel islands, which had nearly silted up, as the little bay subsequently known as Tank Bunder.

³ See note 3 on p. 48.

meeteth with Cusmutee¹ and Gurupdaw² hills. The first is to the eastward of the other; neither is it so high. The latter bounds on the breach and is thickly adorned with palmero trees. Just by high water mark is a pagod³ much esteemed by the natives, tho' I saw nothing but two or three large rocky stones daubed over with red, without form or order, over one of which was a square ordinary mat supported with sticks, in the nature of a canopy, but nothing else of any remark adjoining.

The land then runs away and rounds off according to the regularity of the breach, which in this place wants little of uniting itself with the great breach on the opposite side of the Island, having hardly a quarter of a mile of dry ground between them. It is called Chaun⁴, being mostly baty ground and so continueth to the foot of Bendawmatcharad⁵ hill, where endeth the jurisdiction of Mazagon, joining there with Sewree.

Here the jurisdiction of Suree [Sewri] begins and contains the packerys Parell, Suree and Vedalaw [Wadālā]. Parell is a large division in which stands the hill Bendawmachard. It is, as I have before observed, indifferent high land and lies out S.W. and N.b.E [*sic*]. From its top, which is not over much loaded with trees or shrubs, you have a pleasant prospect of the Island and of Parell, which lies west of it down in a valley, being a small town and hath adjoining a large noble convent,

¹ Cusmutee. This is possibly Signal Hill, a small hill situated in the N.E. corner of the Mazagon Bunder property, which the Government sold to the Port Trust in 1906 for Rs. 10,000. The area of the hill was about an acre and a half and the height 25 ft. Demolition of the hill began in 1910 and was completed in 1916, the material from it being used for roads and for the sea-wall of the Mazagon-Sewri reclamation.

² Gurupdaw, i.e. Ghorupdeo. This hill, 170 ft. high, was situated on what was in recent times known as the Frere Land Estate and was demolished by the Port Trust from 1893 to 1908. The plots laid out on it are used for building and for the timber trade.

³ It is presumably the temple of Ghorupdevi, immediately to the north of where the hill was, that is designated by the "pagod" near "high water mark."

⁴ This may be Charney. The oart Charney in the district Deão was part of the Mazagon Estate (see Da Cunha, p. 223).

⁵ It is impossible to surmise what hill Burnell or his copyist intended by this name. See *ante*, p. 5, where the name indicates a district and not one particular hill.

tho' now in ruins, belonging formerly to the Paulistins¹. It is of a very good height and hath several large rooms and private apartments, with balconies and a broad staircase to ascend.

The church² is built of stone and makes one side of the square the convent is placed upon. It is very much decayed, the roof being wholly fallen in, tho' some of the altarpiece is yet entire, over which is still remaining the representation of God the Father. He is carved with a long white beard, being covered with a triple crown like the papal cap, and in one hand a mund insignone the top with a cross³. Of other ornaments it is quite destitute, except near the door is a large stone font, tho' that not erect but lying down in ruins.

All the lands belonging to the convent (which were many and the most productive of any on the Island, extending from Suree fort to that of Syon, upwards of four miles in length,

¹ Paulistins: a local name for the Jesuits in India, arising from their having their headquarters at the great college and church of St Paul at Goa.

² The church at Parel was probably built by the Franciscans and taken over by the Jesuits about 1620, when they bought a large property in the neighbourhood as a source of revenue for the support of the mission at Agra. Strained relations between the Jesuits and the English which arose after 1665 may have led to the church falling into ruins. In para 119 of a summarized letter from Bombay to the Company, dated 18 April 1706, occurs the remark: "About the Jesuits Church at Parella. If they have made any place to lodge one of their order, to be pulled down, the lands there being confiscate" (*Bomb Abs.* vol 1). In 1719 Jesuit property in Bombay was finally confiscated. The church lay in a semi-ruined state till about 1750, when it was made the nucleus of Government House, the walls of the church, sacristy and staircases being incorporated in the rebuilding. The remodelling of Government House, when it was converted into a laboratory, destroyed much of the original building. A tablet in the present building has the following inscription:

"This building, once a chapel in the possession of the Jesuit Fathers, from whom it was acquired in the year 1719, was subsequently used as an occasional residence by the Governors of Bombay. In the year 1803 it was occupied by Sir James Mackintosh, Second Recorder of Bombay. From 1829 it was the permanent residence of the Governor until it was abandoned after the term of office of Sir James Ferguson (1880-1885). From November 8th to November 15th 1875 His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, occupied a room in the building."

³ This should probably read "a mund (or globe) insigned on the top with a cross," the usual symbol of rulership by Christ over the world, or the Cross dominating the whole earth. The "large stone font" was either a baptismal font or a holy water stoup.

including all the salt grounds) were seized on by the Company, who made themselves proprietors thereof, by reason that Padre Jose De Pandare, in the late eruptions with the Sedee, was proved to have supplied the enemy with provisions¹ and made over to the Sedy all the revenues of the church during his abode on the Island, as an encouragement to his arms to exterminate all the hereticks, which were said to amount to a pound of gold a day.

These and such other actions have forfeited all the right the Portugueze had to those lands which the Crown was pleased to grant them under the Great Seal, being allowed them by the favour of the English, and which they enjoyed till such

¹ The statement that the Jesuits had been active in helping the Sidi, and that their lands in Bombay were confiscated as a punishment, is made in the *Bomb. Gaz.* (vol. xxvi, pt. 1, p. 103 n.). But confiscation had begun in 1667 when Sir Gervase Lucas reported that he had seized land to which, so far as he could discover, the Jesuits had no good title (*English Factories*, 1665-1667, p. 289). A most circumstantial report of the Jesuits' assistance to the Sidi is contained in George Manuell's declaration (*F R*, Bombay, vol. III, under date 29 August 1689). "In the morning His Excellency ordered the men, being two Portugueeze that were taken in the fleet that were brought in yesterday, and after haveing examined them very strictly and not having any proofs but that they belonged to the Portugueese, thought fitt immediately to discharge them. George Manuell being three or four daies since at Bandora [Bandra], and saw severall cooleys that were intended to come and serve the English at Bombay, but were imprisoned for the same intent by the Padre Superior of that place, and asked them in the hearing of the deponant why they would goe and serve doggs; he further sayes that the Bandora people told him that the said Padree Superior sold to the Siddy sixty morahs [a *mora* = 154½ candies] of battee and that he received for the same coconuts at 10 xeraphins per thousand, and that the Siddy has sent to the said Padree for a supply of powder, balls, money, &c., all which it is said the Padree furnished him with, and that he is very angry with the people of Bandora who endeavoured to hinder a boate of plantines, which came from Versera [? Vesāva], or some other place, being sold to the Siddy's, he asking the people why they should deny the Siddy of such refreshment. He further declareth, being sent to Bandora per His Excellency to raise souldiers to serve in our garrison, which when he had raised 24 men out of that place, the Padree Superior haveing notice thereof, immediately ordered two of them to be imprisoned, and likewise said that whatsoever persons of that place should goe to serve the English or any other nation, they should be imprisoned upon it, and the man never to have habitation there any more. He also sayes that the people of Curlee [? Kurla] that were sent by the Padree of that place to supply the Siddy with rice, being exacted upon by the Siddys, refused to goe any more; upon that the said Padree forced them to goe back againe and sell it as formerly." See also Ovington, pp. 95-6.

time as their villanies were legible to the world; and then they were seized on by the General for the sole use and property of his masters.

Eastward, this hill overlooks the Breach and hath at its foot the baty grounds of Cordenoringa¹. To the northward is a small ~~tip~~ or rivulet called Carrella¹. This joins to Compree², another high hill, being very steep and rugged, over which the way lies to Suree, about a quarter of a mile, when you begin to descend, the soil being very rough and rocky. At the foot of this descent is a fine white sandy bay, in which the Sedey landed, arching round near 20 furlongs, when at its extreme northern end riseth the hill Meera³, upon which the fort is seated.

It is a prominence jutting out into the Bay and hath a great deal of clean ouze stretch[ed] out a considerable way into the sea, which at low water falleth dry. The fort is built upon the point of the hill, having a pleasant situation. You enter by a pretty large port, at the corners of whose curtain are two round bulwarks, from whence the rampiers are carried the whole length of the garrison and round off at the extremity in a demi bulwark.

The artillery belonging to it are four brass patteraroes⁴ and ramtackers⁵, fixt with swivels, and carry an eight ounce shot.

¹ These places cannot now be identified.

² Compree is apparently the modern Colanji Hill (265 ft.), which has been partly cut away by the Bombay Municipality, but which is still "very steep and rugged" and covered in places with large boulders.

³ The hill "Meera" does not appear in any available old map of Bombay. Sir Charles Fawcett points out that it must have been identical with "Merin" on which a guard house was erected in 1682. See *F.R.*, Bombay, vol. xix, p. 18, *Keigwin's Rebellion*, p. 67.

⁴ Span *pedrero*, an engine for slinging stones; a swivel gun. See Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 254 n.; Fryer, vol. 1, p. 271 n.

⁵ This word does not appear in the *O.E.D.* nor in Irvine's *History of the Army of the Indian Moghuls*, although it is evident from the following extracts that it was well known to the Company's servants in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In a letter from the Court of Committees to Fort St George dated 20 July 1683 (*Letter Book*, vol. vii, p. 173) is the remark: "Wee are sending six smacks or sloops, fitted to snail and row, as tenders to our Bantum fleet, armed each with 12 or 16 ramtackers of brass 3 C. each." At a consultation held at Bombay Castle on 22 April 1695 (*F.R.*, Bombay, vol. iv) it was agreed to despatch a vessel to Anjengo and "that there should be also six rantackers sent on her for their

It hath a flag staff belonging to it and is wholly ingarrisoned by sepoys, here being a company of eighty men with a subedar, hubladar and jumbladar.

Being out of the Fort, the hill is plain and even, delighting yourself with the Island of Elephants [Elephanta] and Mowl¹, which is opposite to the garrison, being parted therefrom by a river whose channel is of no great breadth. At the foot of the hill is a small town seated in a charming grove of coconut trees, which runs the whole length of the Bay of the other side, and Maion De Sall², a great breach on the other, it being thereby formed into an isthmus, being the neck of land that joins the peninsula of Suree to the Island.

This Breach is very large, having much mangrove land and salt grounds all along it, and hath a pretty large town near its centre, called Vedala³, being seated among a grove of large spreading trees; the houses but indifferent, the inhabitants following husbandry and till the baty ground adjoining, which returns it to them again in plentiful crops as a reward for their labour.

The baty grounds are prepared in April against the coming of the monsoons, at which time they burn the stubble that remains of the last season's baty, and add other fuel to it, as straw or dung, to extract the vegetal salt from it to fatten the land. Having gone thus far with it, they let it lie fallow till the monsoons are well set in and hath well soaked the earth; then they plow it knee deep in mud, forcing it up with a wooden

boates that are to cruise on that coast." And in a summarized letter from Bombay to the Court of 3 October 1706 we read (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1). "Rantackers to be fixed and put aboard the *Defyance*" (para 127).

As to the derivation of rantacker or rantacker, Mr C. B. Barrie, Chief Engineer Indian State Railways (retired), suggests that it had its origin in the Hindi word *takkar*, used in Marāthi also, meaning "striking," "impact," "knock." Mr C. E. A. W. Oldham further points out that as *ran[a]* means "battle," "fight," it is possible that *ranatakhar* was used for a battering ram and thence for a swivel gun

¹ Māhul or north-west Trombay.

² Possibly a corruption of Port. *sal marinho*, sea salt.

³ Wadālā. In a summarized letter from Bombay to the Company of 24 December 1706 (para. 67) there is an allusion to a "report of what salt made at Suree and Veddula" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

colter¹, it being but the work of one man to drive and hold too. They are not curious in [particular about] leaving the mud in straight furrows, but drive round or across or any way their fancy leads them to. When the plow hath made the earth fit for seed they sow the baty, which is rice well soak'd in water and laid in straw till such time as it shooteth forth. Being scattered over the mud they work it in with the plow till such time as it all disappears; then they leave it exposed to the rains where it soon shooteth forth.

When it is about six or eight inches high, they transplant it, taking it up in handfuls and placing them in regular furrows, where it grows six or eight inches deep in water, shooting forth an ear like to oats. As the monsoons go off, it ripens, turning of a pale yellow, and when thoroughly ripe it is reaped and carried into the graner[y], where the rice is trod out of the husk by buffelos. This is a beast resembling that called an ox, but much larger. His hide is black like an elephant's, and like that hath few hairs which [blank] and straggling. It hath a bunch growing on its shoulder, which is all fat and is excellent meat, tho' the flesh is but of little value. The horns are large and spreading. It is a slothful ugly creature and partakes much of the nature of swine, loving to rowl [roll] about in filth and nastiness.

Cows are a scarce commodity on the Island, as in truth is every thing else of provision, we being beholden to our neighbours the Portugueze for almost every thing that we eat; otherwise we might starve, were we only to subsist on the product of the Island².

¹ Colter, a common variant of coulter, the blade fixed in front of the share of a plough.

² In para. 66 of their letter to Bombay of 20 April 1708, the Court remarked "Mr Harvey tells us that the dyet is scarce and generally unwholesome, most of the poultry and swines flesh tastes fishy, occasion'd by the buckshaw [fish manure]; that beef and mutton is very scarce by reason the natives, who keep a thousand head of cattle on the Island only for their milk, will not let any of them be kill'd, so that the English do send to the Portugueez countrey for their food, whereas with care, sufficient quantities of cattle might be kept, not only for the English on shore, but enough to supply the ships too, on Old Womans and Butchers Island, if a proper person had the charge of looking after them, and that many ships would frequent the Island if they were sure of provisions, and because

From hence the Breach rounds off to the eastward till it washes the bases of Nowgar¹, a high eminence having Gangor away to the north of it. It fronts the river, having at its foot several saltworks which extend in a manner clear from Suree to Sion; and here this jurisdiction endeth.

Sion joineth to Suree on the south and Mahim on the west, its north and east bounds being limited by the river. It contains the puckerys of Martinga [Mâtunga], [blank] and Sion, in the first of which lieth the baty grounds of Lullwan, then Bom: Sackmesera and Ounsar [blank] extremity of Bomb, which is a low point of land that is so contrived to let in or out a great mass of water from the river into the salt works of Rowlee, which in the [blank] a breach overfloweth a great tract of land. To the southwest of which in a wood of [blank] lieth the town of Martinga, which is indifferently large, the inhabitants being mostly employed in the adjoining salt works, as this of Rowlee, which, though it is not extraordinary large, it brings the Company in a [blank].

It runs in as a breach from the river between the low point of Bom on the south and the foot of Cola Hill on the north, the gap being stopp'd with a bridge of brickwork arch'd, in which is the sluice, from whence to the river is a good channel through the outer salt grounds for boats at high water to come in and lade, and from thence return it on board shipping, who come to fetch it, it being a good commodity down the coast and one of the staple incomes of the Island.

there are not, therefore do not come near it" (*Letter Book*, vol. XIII, p. 361). But already, in the previous year, the Bombay Council had reported that, in order to "prevent their dependance on the Portugeze country," they were about to cause "a proclamation to be published for planting oranges, lemons and garden produce, also for breeding cattle, hogs and poultry" (paras. 16, 17 of letter of 17 March 1706/7, *Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

¹ At this point, owing to several blanks and place-names that cannot be identified, the narrative becomes obscure. It deals with what to-day is probably the least known part of Bombay Island, and with a part too, which, owing to the development of salt works and with the silting up of the creek between Bombay and Trombay, has been so changed as to make identification of Burnell's landmarks more than usually difficult. Of the places mentioned in this and the subsequent paragraphs, Burnell's Nowgar and Gangor are possibly the Antop Hills and Cola may be Rowli Hill. Sackmesera is clearly Sheikh Misri, the Egyptian Father, whose tomb "lies amid the salt-lands and rice-fields of the north-eastern portion of the Island" (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. III, p. 313).

Within the [blank] the ground is laid out in long or broad squares and those again divided into smaller, lying in regular rows, being bank'd round with earth, two or three feet broad, with narrow channels running between every division to supply the squares or pains with water as occasion requires, or to set out that which is foul and dirty.

These pains are about twenty feet long and ten broad¹ and bear resemblance to those pits made use of in tanners yards for preparing the leather, only they are not so deep, but on the contrary, are shallow, gaging not above eight or nine inches at most. These are filled with salt water from the aforesaid channel and so lie exposed to the powerful beams of the sun for producing the salt.

The salt kerns² here in the dry season from the month of October³ till May, it gathering in saline particles together and congeals on the superficies of the water in the nature of ice. When a whole pain is thus crusted over, it appears of a pure unblemish'd whiteness, and is then by the Indians (whose business is constantly to attend the pains) rack'd off from the face of the water (with a wooden board⁴ fixt at right angles with the handle, whose length is such as will reach the most distant part of the pain) and laid in oblong heaps of a pyramidical form on the banks of the channels, where it lies till such time as it is taken up in barrows⁵ and laid in heaps of a large magnitude.

The grounds where these heaps are to be placed are raised about three feet high, of loose stones, piled in a round circumference, with a flat even surface, on which the salt is piled in

¹ In the remodelled salt works the pans average 60 ft. by 25 ft. Their depth has remained practically without change, as also has the arrangement of the intake and drainage channels.

² Kerns, i.e. granulates. Cf. Dampier, vol. 1, pt. III, p. 56: "The salt begins to kern, or grain, in April."

³ The clearing up and levelling of the salt works are undertaken in October, soon after the end of the rains, but it is not until about the end of December that the first crop of salt is produced.

⁴ This instrument is still used. It is known as *nivale* or *neula*.

⁵ Barrows are no longer used. The salt is removed from the pans to the platforms in head loads carried by women.

In 1706, when the price of salt was settled, it was "ordered to be measured at Suree and Vaddula, one moyety to be for the Company, the other to such as cultivate the ground for its produce" (paras. 17, 18 of letter of 24 December 1706, *Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

form of, and as large as our hay stacks, some containing twelve or fourteen tons. They are then thatched over with straw to keep them from the rains, which being thus covered, doth not in the least damage them, there being generally more made on the Island than there is a vent for, so that you shall see some stacks standing there that hath not been molested in three or four seasons, it being as cheap as it is plentiful¹, so that you shall have two large baskets, containing near a bushel each, for the value of four ducanneesdar², two pence English.

In Bengal and the inland country they extract salt by fires³, boiling the water in large iron or earthen cauldrons; and after this way may salt be extracted from almost any running water, tho' there is a great deal of difference in them, all waters not making the like quality or quantity of salt, considering the lightness or heaviness of their bodies. But setting aside these chymical preparations, I am persuaded to believe that the salt congealed by the sun's powerful beams is much more pleasant and natural to the body.

From the top of the hill of Cola, which is high and steep, tho' very rugged in its ascent, you have a prospect of all the Mareen De Rowley⁴ and the out salt grounds, which stretch away to Goncar⁵, yielding a very delectable object at that elevated height, the greater divisions appearing at that distance like a great number of long sash lights and the lesser like the panes of glass or [s]quares therein included.

At the foot of the hill, towards the N. W., lie the batty grounds of Sedgar, situated among a diversity of trees, among which is pleasant walking, were it not for its foul inhabitants that harbour among them in the moist seasons of the year,

¹ The Salt Tax and the profiteering of the merchants have now brought the price of salt to about Rs. 2 a Bengal maund (82 lb. avoirdupois).

² See *infra*, p. 113, for Burnell's remarks on the *dakhani* (spelt variously, ducannee, ducane, ducany), which he says agrees "with the price both in exchange and shape." The suffix "dar" appears to be a mistake of the copyist, who failed to decipher the MS. What Burnell wrote was probably, as Mr S. H. Hodivala surmises, "four ducannees or two pence English."

³ This method was adopted in Bombay (near the Hornby Vellard first and subsequently in "Congress House") and in various other places in India during the Civil Disobedience movement in the spring of 1930.

⁴ The salt works of Rowli.

⁵ Goncar is possibly the Gangor already mentioned (p. 62).

harbouring great numbers of large and poisonous snakes which, of many sorts that are on this Island, I shall remark but two. And first the Cobra Capell¹.

This snake is generally between five and nine feet long and as thick at the neck as one's wrist, from thence tapering down to the tail. The belly is white, finely scaled, and the back of a reddish brown speckled with black spots. On either side the head it extends a skinny substance of an oval form, called the hood, from whence it derives its name, in which are two black linings running in shape of an S and stand in respect to one another like the ears on a violin. The head is not extremely large, in which are the eye balls fix'd, being to the sight as piercing as those of a hawk. It hath a row of sharp teeth and a long slender tongue, whose upper skin being peeled off, it appears forked with 10 points.

On each side the gullet run down two pipes, whose orifice will admit of a pea. At the bottom of them under each ear are two small bags, in whose cavity is contained the venom, which is of a black and deadly quality. They do not poison with their teeth, as some have asserted, but when they have fastened on their prey, eject the venom out of each bag as from a syringe, which penetrating the porous parts and orifices where the teeth hath masticated causes that inflammation people that are bitten by them are so sensible of. This I once had the curiosity to observe in anatomizing one of them.

The common antidote in India to expel their poison is the snakestone, made of a buffelo's horn, tho' Mr Ovington²

¹ The ordinary cobra, formerly called "cobra de capello," known scientifically as *Naja tripudians*, but the measurement, "between five and nine feet long," is somewhat above the record of this snake, which is seldom, if ever, more than 6½ ft. long

² Vide Ovington, p. 155 and note. The snakestone, to which Fryer and others make several references, apparently depended upon its absorbent properties and was variously compounded of such substances as charred bone, magnesian limestone, chalk and bezoar (a concretion found in the bodies of goats, monkeys and other animals). "Dr Davy's belief was that in Ceylon a piece of charred bone is filled with blood, perhaps several times, and then carefully charred again, and he says the manufacture of them is a lucrative trade, carried on by the monks of Manila, who supply the merchants of India. Thunberg was shown the snake-stone used by the Boers at the Cape in 1772, which was imported for them from the Indies,

saith, of earth found at Diu and the asis [ashes] of certain herbs mixed, being made into a paste and burnt, become of a porous nature; and indeed I must own it seemeth to stand most with reason. Of these I have had several, being about the bigness of the top of one's thumb, flat, and of a black or greyish colour. When they are used, they are placed to the part afflicted, where (being of a spongy nature) they suck out all the venom the wound hath imbib'd. Then being thrown into milk, it presently disgorges what it hath received, and is instantly fit to be applied to suck out the remainder, where it sticks till it hath fill'd its pores and then falls off like a horseleech.

The fat of the snake is likewise excellent at expelling its venom, taken inwardly; and externally applied, it fortifies the joints and supple the limbs to a wonder¹. A candle made of its fat, after it hath been dissolved in the sun and then lighted, being placed on a table (all other lights removed that are of another nature), shall instantly make the room appear full of snakes. This at first, when it was told me, I gave no credit to, but laugh'd at as a ficti[tious] notion, till causing one to be made, I found it was a real truth. For when it was burning, every object I look'd upon seem'd to be full of the shawds [? shadows] or representation of little snakes, about 4 or 5 inches long, curling up and down, according as the air gave motion to the flame of the candle. I was extremely amazed to see them crawl about my hands, shirt and neckcloth, where they wreathed up and down, hundreds of them, till putting out the candle, they likewise vanish'd. I am strangely amazed and surprised to think what should be the reason of it, and would very fain be resolved in the natural causes that should create

especially Malabar, at so high a price that few of the farmers could afford to possess themselves of it. He describes it as a convex on one side, black, and so porous that when thrown into water it caused bubbles to rise, and hence, by its absorbent qualities, it served, if speedily applied, to extract the poison from the wound" (*Cyclop. of India*, s.v. Snake-Stone). See also the article in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, where examples of allusions to the antidote are given from c. 1666 to 1872.

¹ A wide belief in the curative power of the snake existed from very early times. See *Life of Jón Ólafsson* (vol. II, p. 166 and note) for the magical power of a snake's tongue and the use of the snake as an antidote for its own bite.

the appearance of the phantom, since I am certain it cannot be a deception of the sight¹.

There are Indians in this country who have magical charms wherewith they will allure snakes and take or remove them from any place or hole where they are troublesome and their company not desirable. These people make it their livelyhood by carrying two or more up and down in round baskets, going from house to house or any where else where they see a concourse of people. There they take up their stand, and uncovering the basket, the snakes erect themselves two or three feet, the owner of them playing to them all the while on a pipe thrust through a gor'dshell²; and I have been informed that therein lies the charm, the subtle animal being so captivated with the sound of the instrument, hath no power to emit his venom. Thus they keep them tame and teach them the art of dancing.

The snakes that inhabit this Island live on better food than the dust of the earth, especially if they can get among poultry, where an old hen and a couple of young ducks is nothing at a meal. I have seen one devour a large fowl, feathers and all, without chewing, for they do not masticate, but suck their substance in by degrees, slipping in two or three inches at a time, till it all is devoured.

As these Indians have a power of charming the snake, so likewise to this animal is given a power to charm birds, fowls, &c. *This I once observed by looking into a yard where were poultry. I saw a large cobra capell lie leisurely quail'd up near the middle, a parcel of hens making a pining sort of a noise and walking a pecking at the ground in a circular motion round the snake, having no power to go from it, but by every circle making a nearer advance till they came within its reach, when it raised itself and seized its prey by the head, which after a scream and then a struggle or two, lay quietly dead. Thus it had served three when I frighten'd the rest away. Yet the snake would not stir till it had devoured one of the fowls by*

¹ No similar snake story has been found, nor can Burnell's hallucination be explained unless, as Sir William Foster suggests, he was deceived by the tricks of an Indian juggler.

² Gourd shell, calabash.

twisting about it and breaking the bones, squeezing it flat that the bulky part might slip down the more easy, being near half an hour e're it could compass it, which when down, slipt about two thirds of the belly in a great bump¹. It would then have march'd off with the other two by making a link with the tail part round the body of the fowl and seizing the other in its mouth. I stopt his career by making him deliver the booty and then dispatched him, being upwards of seven feet and a half long.

The other snake called cobra manell² is about the thickness of the stump of a tobacco pipe, being near two feet long and hath a row of white specks on its back, the head small and lives mostly in old walls. The bite of this snake is mortal, there being no other remedy prescribed against the infection of its venom than by catching, if possible, the snake and counting how many specks are contained in the list of [? line on] its back, for so many hours will the person whose misfortune it is to be bitten live; that being all the comfort he hath to depend on in this transitory world. Some will have twelve, sixteen, eighteen and twenty two spots on the back, but as to their governing or allotting the time of life, I hold to be superstitious.

To return. Having passed through the baty grounds of Sedgar, the descent of the hill Cola is the south boundary of a Sallgad³ of that name, to which there is a small gut lets in from the river, having a brick bridge and sluice to let in the water, which having crossed, you enter the puckery of Sion, the town lying scattering among a grove of large trees, and are mostly cogand houses⁴, excepting here and there the ruins of a brick or stone fabrick.

¹ Ovington (p. 154) has a very similar story and the wording has many resemblances.

² See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Cobra Manilla or Manelle; Dalgado, s.v. Cobra Manilla; Barbosa, ed. Dames, vol. II, p. 83 n. The term, derived from Mar. *maner*, Skt. *manī*, a jewel, is applied both to the *Bungarus caeruleus* (*harani*) and to the *Daboia Russellii* (Russell's viper). From the description the latter seems to be meant.

³ Sallgad (Port. *salgado*, saltiness) seems here to be used for salt works. Otherwise Salgada, a hamlet in the village of Parel (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. III, p. 305), may be intended.

⁴ Cogand houses, i.e. houses thatched with cadjan.

On the northeast corner of the Island riseth a high round hill, on whose summit is founded Sion fort¹, having a round twisting ascent leading to it. The garrison is indifferent large, being built of stone, tho' very irregular. It hath a guard house, magazine and a parade. Yet it hath but two guns mounted aloft, tho' it hath several embiasures; one of them fronts the port, having no gates upon the hinges, the fortification being somewhat ruinate, of which care ought to be taken by the Clerk of the Fortification to see them speedily repaired.

It maintains a garrison of thirty two men, two corporals and a cob who is commander of the fort under the lieutenant at Mahim, they being part of his company². You have a noble prospect from hence of all the Island and breaches in general, Bombay Castle and the ships at an anchor before it, likewise of Maroall, a convent on Mowle³, the river, and that of Mahim, as likewise the passage to Basen [Bassein], and on the opposite shore of a square stone redoubt built by the Portugueze on the Island Saltsett, the eye being delighted with a diversity of objects and all pleasant and agreeable.

At the foot of the hill, on the extreme north point of the Island is cast up a reintrenchment with a stone parapet, being a battery with two guns. Here are lodged a company of sepoys with their officers. The point hence stretcheth out into the river, being much mangrovy land, which growing low in the water, there are cemented to their twigs and branches a great number of oysters, so that they may be said to grow upon trees. To the westward of the fort is a tank, and a small distance from that the breach of Sion⁴, which overfloweth

¹ Sion Fort, of which a considerable part remains incorporated in a dwelling-house, was one of the earliest to be built. The "round twisting ascent" is still commented upon by those who climb it; they are rewarded at the top by the "noble prospect," though the objects to be seen, which include mill chimneys and the hydro-electric transmission lines, cannot truthfully be described as "all pleasant and agreeable."

² The fort was at first under the command of a sergeant (*Bomb. Gaz* vol. xxvi, pt. II, p. 273)

³ The Jesuits built a church at Marel about 1585. It fell into ruins after the Marātha conquest of 1739 and remains in this condition.

⁴ "The breach of Sion" is here used to designate two distinct breaches, Sion to Dhāravi, and Dhāravi to Worli. The charges for stopping those breaches are given in the *Bombay Journ.* vols. cxviii, cxxi, cxxii, etc. In

a great part of the Island and almost joineth the breach at Worley.

This ground is recovered at the expence of the Company, who have flung up a noble large dam as a fence against the river, near three quarters of a mile in length. It is foimed like a rampier with two faluds¹, being 30 or 35 feet broad at the bottom and about 20 on the top, the perpendicular height near 12. The side to the river is worked up of rock stones (whose foundation is extremely good), ten are [? or] 12 feet in breadth, and the other that faces the Island of the same architecture, only much narrower, being about 7. The heart of the dam between the stone work is filled up with firm fast clay and rubbish, and the top covered with a gravelly sand, which makes a most pleasant walk, to the south of which is a grove of palmero trees. And here this jurisdiction endeth

Mahim (which begins where Sion guards fall off at the end of the dam) hath a small rising spot of ground equal to the height of the dam, which runs but a small distance e're you enter upon Mahim breach, which is likewise dam'd up, tho' not so broad either at top or bottom by 5 or 7 feet, tho' the height is the same. It is something more than half the length of the other.

On the northwest point of the Island is Mahim seated, being a pretty large town, and hath an indifferent good buzar, the buildings being brick covered with pantile. By the river side fronting the Mandave stands a large and beautiful church, being a convent of the Franciscans², with a large veranda before the portal, and at a small distance on the road is a large wooden cross set in a brickwork pedestal.

para. 97 of a summarized letter from Bombay to the Company, dated 19 January 1710/11, is the remark "Three of the breaches near completed at the northward of the Island," and in a further letter of 1 March in the same year, the Council reported: "The third breach at the northward of the Island completed hope to finish that between Worli and Mahim ere the rains" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

¹ The word is so written by Orme's copyist. It seems to be a mistake for "talus," the sloping side of a wall or earthwork.

² The church of St Michael, Mahim, is said to have been built in 1534 by Antonio do Porto, a great church builder of the Franciscan Order. It has been frequently rebuilt and now probably retains nothing but the plan of the original. Filial to it is a small chapel at Sion, mentioned by Fryer (vol. 1, p. 184) in 1675.

The Mandave is the English Custom House¹, where is always a resident, a factor of the Company's, who is commonly one of the Council. His duty is to take care and see what goods are imported and exported and enter them in the journal and ledger. He acts likewise as governor of the place, all differences being brought before him, which he makes up or imprisons the offender, according to the nature of the complaint.

The house is indifferent large and hath variety of apartments and a large spacious hall. Behind the house is a pretty compact garden set round with jambo trees and variety of flowers.

The jambo bush grows much like the lime, being full of branches from the root, and hath a broad smooth leaf like the laurel. The jamboes grow thick among the branches, being as thick as a large Seville orange, with a thick rugged rind growing full of pimples, of a deep green colour. The inside is like the lemon, being extremely acid. It is used in making punch, tho' not over wholesome².

In the river, before the Custom House, lies a great number of grabs and large boats, who drive a considerable trade here in oyl, coconuts, cotton, cogar [coyer, coir], &c., upon which they pay to the Company 5 per cent. Here is a few stakes set up in the river, driving on a small sort of a fishery, tho' of no remark.

The Fort³ stands upon the extreme point of the Island in a low, sandy foundation, the sea and river in a manner half washing its walls, lying just at the mouth of the river. It is

¹ See note 5 on p. 27.

² Burnell is somewhat inaccurately describing the pommelo or shaddock (*Citrus decumana*), under the name by which it was known to the Portuguese, i.e. jamboa or samboa. See Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (pp. 247, 324), for notes on the fruit and its various designations. See also Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Pommelo; Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, p. 324.

³ The first English fort at Māhim was no more than a breastwork of toddy-trees and dirt, erected in 1676, which, ten years later, was said to be "not worth a doit." A stone fort was begun in 1701. At that time a frigate was stationed off Māhim "to constrain all vessels to pay customs there" (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. 11, p. 220 *et seq.*) The fort was reported as "near finish" in 1710 (letter of 31 January 1709/10, para. 22, *Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

in form of a square, having two bastions and a demy one, whereof that whereon the flagstaff stands is founded in the river, being as deep under water as it is above. It hath a noble port defended by a small brass minion¹ in a field carriage. The rampiers are extraordinary good and the Fort intirely new built of square stone of a very good grain. It stands upon the ground the old one was founded, there remaining still an old square building of two story and a small piece of a parapet. The officer's apartments are but indifferent, tho' he hath two or three rooms and a garden behind. There is a large square in the Fort and a strong magazine, besides a spring of pretty good water.

The officer that commands this Fort is lieutenant of those at Sion and Mazagon. He hath a company here of sixty men, a cob, two serjeants and four corporals, besides a drum and a gunner, the rampiers being mounted by 14 pieces of ordnance. This was the contrivance of engineer Van Durin², who built it about 1706. It hath likewise belonging to it a company of seapoys with their officers, who are mostly posted to attend the Custom House. Adjoining the town is the Moor's tomb³.

From hence you have a noble prospect of the Bunder on the opposite side of the river, to which here belongs a ferry boat employed constantly in carrying over passengers. There is a church belonging to the Jesuits with a high ridg'd roof, something resembling Westminster Abbey⁴. At one end thereof is

¹ Minion, a small cannon.

² Like Euclid Baker, John Vanduicn apparently entered the Company's service about 1697. In 1698 he, with two others, was directed to inspect the Company's ships and report their fitness for the homeward voyage. On 6 October 1703 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the garrison at Māhim and "overseer of the fortifications there," and on 20 January 1703/4 there is an entry in the Bombay Consultation Book showing that he was to receive Xs. 1000 "towards carrying on the work of the fort at Mahim" (*F.R., Bombay*, vol. v). In 1705 he was residing at Bombay as a free merchant. No record of his death has been found, nor any mention of him after 1706, when he was farming one of the Company's leases (para. 75 of letter of 10 April 1706, *Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

³ The shrine of the Muhammadan saint, Makhdūm Fakih Ali Parū, which is visited by large crowds at the time of the annual Māhim Fair. A description of the shrine is given in *Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. III, pp. 301-304.

⁴ A somewhat fanciful allusion to the church of St Anne at Bāndra, which was on the site of the present slaughter-house. It had an institution

a sort of a fortification, being a bulwark mounted with ordnance and a flagstaff in the center. On a high hill is likewise another church which gives an agreeable prospect, dedicated to St Andrew¹.

Behind the Fort and town lie Mahim woods, which are very large, taking up a long tract of ground on the back of Bundara [Bāndra] Bay, being thickly overrun with large and lofty trees of different species, the most remarkable are jack, banian, arack, coco and mango. Of each in its respective place; and first of the jack.

The jack² is a large bodied tree, shooting forth thick and lofty branches, having a broad smooth leaf of a sap green, like the laurel, which when broken off the branch, the stalk will emit a white sort of liquid like the milk bush. It beareth a long ovalar fruit as big as a pompion [pumpkin], the rind or coat of which being thickly beset with sharp round pimples. It hath a fragrant smell and when opened exposes the jack fruit growing in small cells or cavities in a circular form, to the number of eighteen or twenty. The fruit is of a pleasant taste, answerable to the smell, it being round, about the bigness of an apple, of a light yellow colour, including a large grey stone of a soft substance, which being roasted, is pleasant and palatable. It is difficult to open this fruit, by reason in the husk or shell is a great quantity of white clammy juice, like bird lime, which sticks and clogs the knife that it will hardly enter without often oyling; and then you may manage them indifferently.

The banian³ spreads more than the jack, having lofty arms

of orphans attached to it and was fortified against enemies by sea Fryer (vol. 1, p. 183) describes the "College" as being "not inferior to the building, nor much unlike those of our Universities." With the consent of the Portuguese, whom the English had helped with men and munitions against the Marāthas, it was blown up in 1737, as the town could not be held (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xiv, p. 27).

¹ The church of St Andrew, at the foot of the hill, survives to this day. On the top of Bāndra Hill stood a blockhouse and church of Our Lady of the Mount, which were blown up in 1737—the church being rebuilt in 1761 and again, in its present form, in 1902-1904.

² *Artocarpus integrifolia*, a common tree in Bombay. See Mundy's description of the "Jacke" (vol. III, p. 57).

³ The banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*), one of the commonest wild fig trees.

and limbs, from which hang down a great number of roots almost to the ground. Some of these roots that hang from its arms will enter the ground and spring up again, and so up and down for half a dozen times together, that from the body and roots of one tree shall spring up so many, all joining together, as will cover an acre of land. Such is the great banian tree at Gomoion¹ in Persia. It bears a broad smooth leaf, bigger than the jack, and round red berries. It is much admired by the Gentiles, who pay it a sort of religious adoration, delighting to have it grow near the tanks and pagodas.

The coconut is a tall bodied tree, clear from branches to its top, upwards of a hundred feet, some being of a greater height. The body is about eighteen inches diameter, being composed of so many leaves, growing one over another, which for want of nurture, as the young ones shoot above, then fall off and compile the body of the tree. These leaves (or rather arms) shoot out from the body of the tree twelve or fourteen feet, being of a pretty thick substance where they join, and so tend tapering away to a point, having on each side at right angles leaves like flags, hanging down, about 2 feet in length and three inches broad, the whole arm with these number of fillements forming the shape of a long leaf.

The fruit grows out of a stem like the brab nuts, but much larger, 10 or 20 on a tree, they being as big as a cabbage, with three ribs on the surface standing triangular. The outer rind is smooth and pale green. The husky coat or rind being taken off, discovers the coconut, being in shape and bigness like an ostriches egg, but naturally rough and stringy, it having three ribs answering those on the outer rind, and in the bottom or part it receives nurture from the tree through three holes, through which the liquor is conveyed from the body of the tree into the shell, which when young is full of clear sweet water, to the quantity of a pint, tho' then it hath no nut. As the water hath been long standing in the shell, it begins to

¹ Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Banyan-Tree, says that the name Banyan appears to have been first bestowed on a famous tree of this species growing near Gombroon (Bandar Abbās), under which Banyans (or Hindu traders) settled in that port, had built a little pagoda.

corporate and turn to a body forming the kernel which sticks round the concave part of the shell, and when tender may be scraped out with a spoon, which eats very delicious; but if the nuts are let alone till they are old and full grown, the kernel is then near half an inch thick all round the shell, of a pure white and pleasant taste like the almond; but the water included within it is then unwholesome. From this tree is likewise produced toddy, being managed like the brab, but is neither so pleasant nor strong as the former. They mostly use it to distil arrack, or being exposed to the sun, it becomes good verjuice. They often boil it in great cauldrons when, by the force of the fire, it becomes hard and of the sweetness and consistency of sugar. It is called jagaria¹, being black like the grounds of molasses. The coconut is one of the three staple commodities the Island is productive of and is a valuable traffick all over India. When the nuts are gathered green, and the outer rind or husk peel'd off, which is carefully preserved and laid in the salt water till such time as the sappy substance is rotted or decayed, then it is taken out and is exposed in the sun to dry, after which it is beaten like hemp on wooden anvils till all the dust and drossy parts fall away and leave nothing but the fillements, which are variously prepared, being made into cordage for rigging and likewise serviceable cables. Others are kept till the husk dries on the shell, and then are stripp'd off and beaten. This makes excellent caulking stuff, being much better to fill the seams of a vessel with than oakum, seeing it is not so subject to receive damage or rot in the salt water.

Of the kernel is made great quantities of oil, most of what is consumed in India being the product of this nut. It is taken out of the shell by piecemeal and is then packed up in bales and is marketable. Those that buy it up to make oil of have the body of a large tree fixt in the ground, being about five feet high, hollow work at top and bound round with a strong iron hoop. In the concavity made in the top of the timber is fix'd

¹ Jagaria, more commonly jaggery or jagree, a corruption of Skt. *sarkarā*, coarse sugar made from palm-tree sap. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s v. Jaggery.

another strong bar, from whose top cometh down a strong cord or chain and joins to a bar that is made to move round the body of the tree, fix'd in the earth, in a circular motion. In the cavity where the upper bar is let into they put the nut, then fastening an ox to the under bar, they drive him round as in a mill, which motion causeth the end of the upper bar to mash and press the nuts till they are dissolved into oil. It being thus prepared is put into large bottles made of buffeloes hide, big enough to contain 35 or 40 gallons and then expos'd by the merchants.

They have another way of preparing this oil, by boiling the nut and skimming off the oil as it riseth; but this is not so expeditious nor so often used as the former.

The timber of the coco is stringy like the palmero, tho' not so hard. It is the most serviceable tree in nature. The wood being sawed into beams serve[s] for posts and rafters to their houses, they being thatch'd with its leaves, having no occasion but the product of this tree to erect an entire edifice, and afterwards to furnish it with implements of housewifery, as of the leaves is made a bellows, and their ribs, being taken and bound together, brooms. Of the shell is contrived bowls, funnels, cups and ladies, serving likewise for a lamp, its own shell holding the oyl extracted from the kernel, with the addition of half a dozen of the stringy fillements pulled out of the husky shell that covers the nut; then taking a round piece of stick, about as thick as your little finger, keep drilling on it with your hands upon a piece of the dry rind, which will first smoke and soon afterwards take fire; then you may light your lamp and see if you can find any thing in the whole composition that is not relating to the coconut tree.

It is likewise as serviceable in cookery, where first, the top of the tree or head being cut about six or eight inches long, the outer rind pull'd or peel'd off and boil'd, it eats as tender and as well tasted as a cabbage. Secondly, the young coco-nuts, before the nut begins to be harden'd, eats much like an artichoke. Thirdly, the nut, when young, tastes pleasantly, like cream. Fourthly, when full grown, tastes just like an almond. And lastly, not to enlarge, the nut bruised and

soaked in water becomes presently like milk, both in colour, taste and thickness. They use it with boiled rice; likewise the nut is used in currys, not to mention its physical virtues, which are many. So useful is this Indian coconut, a tree blest with such variety of gifts that it may justly claim preheminance of all other of the vegetable generation.

The arrack¹ tree is tall and straight of body like the coco, tho' not so high, and yet more slender, the bark being of a smooth light green. The leaves, branches and manner of bearing fruit is much the same with the coco; only the nuts are not near so large, being in bigness and shape of a Catherine pear², when ripe, yellow, and the side hanging towards the sun, red. Thus they hang in clusters, a hundred and forty or fifty on a tree. When they are taken down from the tree, the outer yellow rind is peel'd off to come at the nut, which lieth in the center, in colour, shape and bigness resembling a nutmeg, saving the difference of taste. They are eaten with the betel leaf, being of an intoxicating quality, of which at large I shall treat. But first of the shrub betel.

The betel³ is a shrub that grows twisting like bindweed and therefore in the grounds where it is manured⁴ are set rows of bamboes, about 4 or 5 feet high, the one crossing the other and their tops being continued of the same, laid in squares, the whole frame being tied and fastened together. It hath a broad, green, smooth leaf, something in form of an heart, but exactly like that of the pepper. It beareth a cod fruit like the pexod [peascod], being of an aromatick quality. The leaf of

¹ This clearly is the areca palm (*Areca catechu*), the nut of which is called *supāri*. These graceful palms are still plentiful in the Māhim woods, growing between and under the coconut trees.

² Catherine pear, a small and early variety of the fruit.

³ The *Piper betel*, the climber which supplies *pān* (paw) leaves for use with the dried areca nut which is thence improperly called betel-nut (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s v Betel).

Some of the facts and phrases in this account of the use of betel suggest that Burnell was acquainted with García da Orta's *Colloques*. As to the mixture with betel of camphor and other substances, *vide* the translation of that author's work by Sir Clements Markham, p. 474. *Lignum aloes* is *Agallochum*, eaglewood or calambac, the fragrant wood of *Aquilaria agallocha* (*op. cit.* p. 195 n.).

⁴ Manured has here its old meaning of "cultivated." See Mundy, vol. II, pp. 99, 129, 245, 248, for examples of its use in this sense.

this shrub, done up with the calx of burnt oystershells and a quantity of the arrack nut broken in small pieces, is eaten by all the Indians of this Eastern clime in general, the meanest to the most noble, the great men having it made up neatly in plantain leaves prepared with camphire, musk, lignum aloes and ambeigrease, having it brought them in fine silver boxes of which they make presents to one another. Those of a lower rank add to it cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon and cardimums; and the poorer sort of all chew it plain, rubbing the leaves with the end of the finger dipt in chanam, being the calx before related. Being chewed, it changes the spittle red like blood and turns the teeth black. Its physical qualities are strengthening the head and stomach. It comforts the heart and breaks wind in the bowels; it fastens loose teeth and causeth a sweet breath, but eat to excess, it intoxicates.

The plantain tree or plant is the next that deserves remark, they being generally planted in inclosures by themselves, it growing up with a straight smooth stem or stalk, about eight inches diameter, being of a soft stringy substance, as it were composed of a great number of folded leaves together, so that it may be easily cut down with the blow of an ax; in the center of which runneth a pith or heart of a white tender nature, the outward part or body of the tree being compassed about with leaves, which when they are spread, open at large, and are each of them seven or eight feet long and near two broad, hanging almost down to the ground, with a thick rib running through the middle, tapering to a point, at the extremity of the leaf being of a dark green, as the under leaves, which when dry, or are pulled off, the young ones sprout up until it hath attained the height of twelve or thirteen feet, where it spreadeth forth many large leaves, in the middle whereof springeth forth a long stem of purple flowers as big and in shape of an ostriches egg, divided into many clusters, after which succeed the fruit, growing in clusters round the stalk to the number of two hundred or more, in several divisions according to the length of the stalk, the fruit being shap'd like cucumbers and are of a span's length, covered with a rind or coat, when ripe of a yellow complexion, which must be peel'd off to come at the fruit, it being white and about the

consistency of butter, being of an agreeable pleasant taste and flavour, and is undoubtedly the best fruit in India (to my palate, in the world), being called by the Portuguese *Tigos dos Ortta* and *Tigos dos Maze*¹, who are blinded with such a superstitious zeal towards this fruit that they will not suffer it to be cut with a knife, because unto their imagination, being so wounded, it beareth the faint resemblance of our Saviour's crucifixion², which indeed one may imagine, tho' it is nothing but a triple division of the fruit like that in a cucumber though much closer. This fruit is constant all the year and the root of the plant so productive that when the body hath done bearing, being cut down, there soon springs up another. The leaves are made use of by the Brachmen [Brähmans] to eat of[f], who by their religion are obliged not to eat twice of[f] the same dish except it be of bace [sic, ?brass] or silver, and then they hold no scruple with their conscience concerning the orders enjoined them.

The banna [banana] tree is much the same with the plantain, excepting the fruit, which is smaller, tho' of a more inviting taste³.

Lastly, the mango is a tall stately tree, full of spreading limbs and branches, like the oak, the rind being much of that complexion. It beareth a leaf of a willow green, long and slender, much like the orange tree, smooth like the ivy. The fruit is most delicious and by some is accounted the best in India. When they are green they are made use of for achar⁴,

¹ Here again Orme's copyist has misread the MS. and this time has mistaken Burnell's F for T (see note 1 on p. 70). The Portuguese name for the plantain and banana is *figo da India*, but in the article under that title, Dalgado has a quotation from *Manual do Agricultor*, where the fruit is called *figos de horta*. Burnell's "*figos dos maze*" is unintelligible, unless we assume that he has mistaken the Latin name of the fruit, *Musa sapientum*, for a Portuguese word. See Dalgado as above and also s.v. *Banana*.

² Examples of this idea as far back as the fourteenth century are cited in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Plantain*.

³ See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Plantain*, for a discussion on the supposed difference between the *Musa sapientum* or plantain and the *Musa paradisiaca* or banana: "but it is hard to understand where the line is supposed to be drawn. Variation is gradual and infinite."

⁴ *Achān*, acid and salt relishes generally, pickles. Several early writers have recipes for pickling mangoes, and any number of modern recipes, not unlike that given by Burnell, could be obtained from Bombay housewives, particularly Parsis.

by slicing them with a knife and taking out the stone, whose cavity is filled with garlick, ginger and mustard, they being put up in a pickle of salt and mustard. When they are ripe, they are of a pale yellow, the side next the sun inclining to red, smelling very fragrantly. Being eaten, they are extreme juicy, of a most delicious taste, which being suck'd to the stone, which lieth in the center, of an oval form, covered thick with hairy strings, the fruit being as large as your fist, of an oblong circular form. But of all the mangoes in India, those of Goa are the choicest, being the largest and hath little or no stone.

Thus far concerning trees of different species. I shall now proceed to the remaining part of this jurisdiction. The woods take up a large tract of land and are thickly inhabited by scattering houses. In it is Selvo Song¹, a large spacious convent belonging to the Franciscans, and is a pleasant recluse², tho' now it is something ruinate. There is likewise a pagoda, tho' of no great remark, and to the eastward of the woods a broad stone causway, over which the road lieth to Mahim, and is reported to be built at the sole charge of a dancing girl, tho' how long since is uncertain.

From Mahim Fort to the south end of the woods which joineth near Worley, rounds in a large bille, called Bunder [Bāndra] Bay, from a town of that name on the island of Salsett belonging to the crown of Portugal. It hath a fine road [read, red] sand beach its whole length, and on which the sea breaks but with no great surf. At the extreme end it's parted from Worley by a breach of the sea, though at low water it falls mostly dry, but at high or on spring tides it is not passable on foot, so that at those times here tends a small ferry boat for the conveniency of passengers. When I left the Island they were about damming up this breach³, designing

¹ Cf. Fryer (vol. 1, p. 176). "At Salvesong. . . the Franciscans enjoy another Church and Convent." In 1596 a Franciscan church was dedicated to Our Lady of Salvation (Salvaçam).

² "Recluse" is here used in its obsolete sense of "a place of seclusion or retirement."

³ In their letter to the Company of 14 January 1711/12 (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1), the Council reported (para. 20): "Breach between Worlee and Mahim compleated." There are several records of payment to Captain

to go through with all that remains open to the ocean's invasion. Here this jurisdiction endeth.

Worley, the last of the seven, is seated on the western bounds of the Island, regarding the ocean, being by the eruption of its powerful waves formed into an island by the two breaches that lie at the extreme ends thereof. It is mostly high rocky land, of a dry reddish soil, running in a continued ridge, its whole length being covered with shrubs and tall palmero trees.

At the extreme northern point, on a steep promontory jutting out into the sea, is seated the fortification¹ of Worley. It is long and irregular, having four or five bulwarks, tho' of no orderly form, being built of large rock stones, laid one upon another without any mortar or chanam to cement them together, except at its eastern end where is cast up a broad rampier and parapet, being indifferent good work.

You enter it through a large port or gateway, ascending a few steps before you come into the fort. The officer's apartments are but very ordinary. There is a small magazine and a flag-staff, and at the extreme of the fort you ascend by steps into a semicircular bulwark, paved with broad stones and covered overhead with cagans [cadjans], having in it several embrasures and an iron culverin, there being but two guns mounted in the garrison.

From hence you always enjoy the benefit of most refreshing sea breezes, it being cool and pleasant, and to my thinking is the most airy point of land on the Island. You have likewise a prospect of the ships sailing in the offing, the boats fishing in the Bay and opening of Mahem River, likewise the sea

James Hanmer for work on this breach (*Bombay Journal*, vols. CXXI, CXXII). The Bombay Improvement Trust cut through this dam about the year 1926 and found it to be of solid masonry still in excellent condition.

¹ Worli Fort was built in the seventeenth century. There are references to it in 1701 and following years in the *Bomb. Gaz.* vol. XXVI, pt. II, p. 274 *et seq.* Burnell's precise description is borne out by an order to repair a breach in this fort: "it must be built with stones only, without chunarn" (*op. cit.* p. 275). The square, well-built fort, which is now in existence, must be of later date. It was for some time used as a dwelling-house by subordinates in the Customs Department, but was handed over to the care of the Public Works Department in 1910.

coast of the Island of Salsett trending away to the northward till the sight is eclipsed by the extremity of its distance, the points of land shooting out one after another, till at last they seem to unite with the horizon, being thickly overrun with woods of coconuts and fine sandy bays.

It was commanded formerly by a commission officer and maintained a garrison of twelve soldiers, two corporals and a serjeant, but in my time they were ordered all to Maihem [Māhim], the fort being now guarded by a company of eighty seapoys with their officers, whose subadar commands here like as at Suice [Sewri].

The town is situate at the foot of the hill whereon the fort stands, and is indifferent large, lying along a fine sandy beach, tho' the houses are but meanly built, being all in general made of rattans daubed over with cow dung¹ and thatched with coco or cajan leaves, the last being the leaf of the palmero tree, and is used also as paper, the Bramins writing upon it with an iron stile. It is in narrow slips, about two foot long and an inch and a half broad.

This is one of the three great fisheries² on the Island and maintains a great number of poor Indians with the product of the net. The men go out a fishing in large gallivats, like those made use of at Dungarey, while the women stay at home and sort, cure and dry the fish. They return from sea in the evening, though seldom empty handed. The fish mostly taken are carvenas and buckshe, besides pomplits and bombalos, which are prepared here like those before treated on.

The carvana³ is a large saltwater fish, as big as a cod, with

¹ For cowdung plaster (gobar), see Mundy, vol. III, p. 98 and note.

² This description of the fishing village of Woutli is in the main applicable to present conditions. On any day, in the fine weather, one may see the men mending their nets and the women drying or curing fish, either spreading them on specially prepared plots of ground or hanging them on wooden racks. The "buckshe" (see p. 63) is now dried and used for food, and the smaller fish—about the size of whitebait—naturally become brittle and broken in the process of drying and sorting, so that it is necessary to winnow them by the primitive process of placing them in rough trays and tossing them in the air. For "pomplits" and "bombalos" (or "Bombay cows"), see p. 40.

³ The only fish that answers this description is the *ghol* (*Sciæna*), often called the Indian salmon. Carvana, as a name for a fish, does not appear to be in use now: it is possibly derived from Mar. *khāravanī*, salt water.

scales as big as a half crown. They are cured by stripping them up the body and taking out the back bone, then by being slic'd in two or three rows with a knife. They are salted and dried. It is excellent breakfast meat, eaten with rice, and is the common support of the poor. They are a good commodity, sold to Europe shipping, by which may be gained a hundred per cent. with ease, first buying them up fresh as the boats come in, and then causing them to be cured, which will put you to no great expence. This was the perquisite belonging to the commander of the fort till such times as they were removed, and then it was given to the custom master at Mahem.

The buckshe is a confused mixture of small fish and fry, as samall, pomplits, prous¹, shrimps and pieces of bombalos. These are bought by the great², and the way of preparing them is by digging a square pit in the ground, according to the quantity of your fish, six or eight feet deep, which being put in and covered, lie rotting in the ground a month or two till it is turned all to a slimy mud. Then it is taken out and applied to the roots of coco trees. The moisture of the dung soaking into the tree causeth great fruitfulness. This was generally used all over the Island till by order it was prohibited, sending forth noxious vapours, which poisoned the air with its contagious fumes and was judged to be one great cause of the unhealthiness of the Island³.

¹ It has been found impossible to identify Burnell's "samall" and "prous."

² That is, wholesale.

³ At a consultation held at Bombay Castle on 24 November 1704, it was resolved that "no trees... shall hereafter be dunged with fish from the Portuguese Church to the Back Bay and eastward to Mendurns Point, about an English mile distant from the Castle and towne, on confiscation of all such trees so dunged for the use and benefit of the United Trade of the Honble. English Company" (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. II, p. 21). This order does not appear to have been strictly enforced and the Directors desired that more stringent regulations should be made on the subject. In their summarized letter of 31 January 1708/9 (para. 24), the Bombay Council replied. "Need not thin the woods, only cutt down the coco trees within the town which hinder the fresh sea breezes; the land breeze they have, but the buckshaw smell makes people sick. Do resolve to prohibit buckshawing the trees." And in their letter of 11 February 1709/10 (paras. 36 and 40), they reported: "Since putting down the buckshaw their water is coveted by everybody... The buckshaw was one chief reason of the

Near the town is a spring of good palatable water, excelling that at Mazagon, tho' in truth there is none that can brag of any excellent quality on the Island. The rest of this jurisdiction is altogether a high, rocky, barren hill, inhabited by a number of large lizards and scorpions, which may be found by turning up almost every rock stone, they lying in the moist places underneath.

These lizards are shaped in the body like a [blank] with a long tail, but much larger, and raises a comb upon its head of sharp pointed teeth, which he can depress at pleasure, being of various colours, as of darker or lighter browns, red, greenish and yellow. Therefore some will have it to be the carmelion. Tho' it be as like it, I can't fancy it the same, for tho' these animals are of different colours one from the other, yet they never suffer a sensible change in them like that creature¹. They have a long slender tongue with which at a distance they will dart flies.

The Portugeze call them Judas's and always kill them wherever they meet them. They harbour a strange sort of a notion that Judas, after he was hang'd, suffered a sensible

mortality on Bombay; yet the vapours coming from the salt marish ground contributed thereto. Have therefore begun to stop the breaches" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1). Dry manuring with fish was, however, permitted up to 1766 (*Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. III, p. 164). The use and effect of buckshaw are referred to by Fryer (vol. I, p. 179) and Ovington (p. 85). The harmfulness of the practice had been recognized long before the date of the orders prohibiting it. Aungier's Convention of 1672 provided that "as to the particular of dunging the palmyras and batty grounds with fish, it is agreed unto by the Governor and Council and granted of as much import to the contribution that what part of the Isle hath this year been permitted to be dunged with bobsay [?buckshe] shall be still permitted, reserving the ground which is comprehended within the line of the city, which by God's assistance is intended to be built. But in respect the abovesaid dunging the ground is forbidden generally by express orders from the Honble. Company of London, it is necessary that their license be had thereunto" (*Selections from the Letters, etc. in the Bombay Secretariat.* Home Series, vol. II, p. 385). Various subsequent orders on the subject are detailed in the *Bomb. Gaz.* vol. XXVI, pt. III, pp. 510-517.

¹ Burnell is right in saying that these lizards are not the true chameleon (*Chamaeleon calcaratus*). They are evidently "bloodsucker lizards" (*Calotes versicolor*), which are non-poisonous and can change their colour, the males—especially in the hot weather, which is their breeding season—assuming on the head and neck bright red tints which disappear if they are frightened.

transformation into one of these animals, his soul going to the devil; and to maintain and prove this assertion they will prove that on every Lords Day it hath two small bags of poison under each ear, appearing outwardly with two black spots, which on the Monday and all the week following disappears till the Sabbath is again returned¹. I can say nothing at all to the matter, seeing I never made any great observation of it; neither can I allow it much credit.

The scorpions are but small, being a little creature covered over with a shell like the lobster. It hath several feet, the two foremost armed with claws with which it seizes its prey. It is of a dark brown colour, tho' some are bluish, having a long jointed tail, in the extremity of which is the sting, being sharp like a thorn. It is very venomous and piercing, and easily inflames. The antidote is oil of scorpion², or the scorpion taken and bruised being applied to the place afflicted will draw out the venom; others make use of the rust of copper dissolved in vinegar.

Of the like poisonous quality with the scorpion is the centpied, called so by the Portugeze from the prodigious number of legs. It is shaped like the caterpillar and about 4 or 5 inches long, of a dark brown. On each side the head it hath two sharp stings like that in the scorpion's tail, which he opens and shuts like a pair of pincers, the sting being equally as venomous as that of the scorpion.

At the extremity of the hill to the southward are a lofty knot of palmero trees, from the leaves and branches of which hang down abundance of curious birds nests³, being very well worth observation. The nest is shaped and as large as a coconut when the husk is taken off, being hollow within and a

¹ No confirmation of this Judas legend has been found.

² The Rev. J. F. Caius, S.J., who has lately conducted an investigation into the toxicity of the venom of Indian scorpions, writes: "Oil of scorpion is either vinegar or alcohol in which scorpions have been left to macerate. Both oil of scorpion and copper-cum-vinegar are well-known remedies for the treatment of scorpion sting. As no scorpion is able to inject a lethal dose of its venom into a human being, it follows that any remedy, however worthless, is sure to effect a cure."

³ Nests of the weaver-bird (*Ploceus baya*), which may be seen suspended from date-palms, palmyra-palms and other trees. See Mundy, vol. II, pp. 37-8, for a description and illustration of the nest.

small round hole underneath for the bird to fly in and out. At the top are fasten'd two or three leaves of long grass, of about two foot or a yard in length, by which it is fastened to the branches of the tree, swinging like a pendulum in the air. It is built by the batty bird¹, who by instinct of nature is thus taught to fortify herself and young against the attempts of the subtle snake, who here swarm up the trees to come at their desired, this prey.

From hence the hill falleth down with a steep broken descent, having a point of rocks tailing out to the southward into the great breach, being the largest on the Island, and falleth in here between the point of Worlee and that of Deodungar, on Malabar Hill, of which I have treated already².

The hydrographical parts of the Island are the Bay, which is a noble and spacious harbour for shipping, who may commodiously ride in good firm anchor hold at all seasons of the year, the monsoons not excepted. It lies open to southerly winds, all the rest of it being landlocking, and runneth in very deep, circumvolving several large islands that lie in its bosom, the principal being Elephanto, Buchers Island, Calongar and Hendry Candry.

The Island of Elephanto lies about midchannel in the Bay, arising with a high steep eminence, thickly covered with palmero and brab trees. It is not extremely large, but is mostly high land, having a small settlement on the south west part close to the water's edge. It is famous for an old large pagoda, wherein are several stone idols of a monstrous proportion, as likewise a large elephant³ carved in stone, from whence its name. I never was upon it to enter into any large description. It belongs to the Portuguese and is all that I know concerning it.

¹ "Batty bird" may be a mistake for "baya" (Hind. *baiā*), by which name the bird is known to the natives of Western India.

² See pp 4 and 43.

³ This figure subsequently fell down and in 1864-5 it was removed to the Victoria Gardens at Bombay (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Elephanta). The elephant was re-erected in Victoria Gardens in 1914 by Mr P. R. Cadell, I.C.S., then Municipal Commissioner, and the late Mr B. H. Hewett, Mechanical Engineer to the Municipality.

Butcher's Island lies but a small distance from it and belongs to the Company, who rent it out¹. It is low even land, about three miles in length, being very productive in grass, which groweth to a great height. The beef that is provided for the Company's table is generally sent here to fatten, the cattle being otherwise of a lean carrionly² kind, and are hardly capable of rising up if they once chance to fall; tho' I have eat very good beef on Bombay, but that was but seldom, the fat of all cattle in general cleaving to the roof of the mouth³.

The Island of Carongar⁴ lieth east of Bombay Castle about two leagues, being very remarkable land, rising high with two large hills and a valley of coco trees in the middle, having a fine sandy shore. On the top of the southernmost hill is a church and fortifications, to which leadeth a narrow ascent,

¹ The origin of the name Butcher's Island is examined in the *Bomb Gaz.* (vol. xxvi, pt 1, pp. 130 and 438-9), and Grose's explanation (*Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 58) that the island was called Butcher because cattle were kept on it for the use of Bombay is discredited as an example of derivation-making. But, since we learn from the records that on 1 March 1698 "Robin the Butchers Island" was "sett up at 50Xs. and lett to Antonio Remeade at 70 Xs." (*F R.*, *Bombay*, vol. v, p. 54), that in 1701 the island is mentioned under the same designation, and that in their letter of 31 January 1709/10, the Bombay Council informed the Court that they should "employ.. Robin the Butchers Island.. on the Companys account" (*Bomb Abs* vol. i), there seems no reason for doubting why it was so called. If, as Burnell remarks, the grazing was good on Butcher's Island, there is certainly more to be said for the obvious derivation of the name than the Gazetteer admits. Where else could such grazing be safely found in 1710?

² Carrionly, an obsolete word for "like carrion"

³ The Rev. J. F. Carus, S J, comments on this statement that fat cleaving to the roof of the mouth is not a peculiarity of Indian meat, but mostly depends on the melting point of the fat used in cooking. If the fat melts at a temperature higher than that of the mouth, it will partially solidify and cleave to the palate. Partial solidification of fat in the mouth, which may be caused by cold drinks during the meal, is more frequently noticed in India than elsewhere because Indian cooks use large amounts of fat and chiefly because, when cooking for the "Sahibs," they employ cheap "lard" instead of the butter and oil of their own cookery.

⁴ Karanja, now generally called Uran, in the S.E. of Bombay harbour: it is cut off from the mainland by the Bendkhal creek. "The island rises in two bare rocky hills, the smaller in the north and the larger in the south, between which lies a stretch of grass and rice lands wooded with mango trees and brab palms" (*Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xiv, p. 191). The island was taken from the Marāthas by Colonel Keating in 1774 and the conquest was confirmed by subsequent treaties (*op. cit.* p. 193).

so that twenty men may with ease keep down a thousand¹. At its foot to the eastward is a fair large city [Uran] upon the river that divides it from the main, very well fortified and mounted with cannon, maintaining a garrison and governor and belongs to the crown of Portugal.

The main land all round the Bay towereth up extremely high, with two or more ridges, being part of that chain of hills which runs through the heart of or exterior [*sic*], quite from Cape Comorin to the northward of Basen, and is called Gatt [Ghâts], being as remarkable as any one continued chain in the world. This part of it lieth in the kingdom of Decan, and hath on a high eminence a towering eminence called Savage Castle², which by reason of its extreme distance is but imperfectly discernable.

Lastly, Henry Conry³ are two small islands in the mouth of the Bay, the latitude being 18° 1', lying off Choul⁴, a Portuguese garrison, and bear from Bombay Castle SbW $\frac{1}{2}$ W, distance eleven miles. They are not extraordinary high, but thickly covered with coco trees and much shoal ground all round them, having a channel of about two miles between them, Conery being fortified almost all round. They harbour a nest of pyrates belonging to Corin Gangra, vulgarly called Angria⁵,

¹ A church and orphanage were built in the fort on the hill of Karanja about 1534 and fell into ruins after 1739, when the Marāthas took Karanja from the Portuguese. The ruins are well preserved and the flight of steps from Uran village stands. There was also a Dominican church in the village and its walls too are standing.

² Savage Castle is probably intended for Shrivājī's, i.e. a Marātha castle. The term "Savages, Savages" was generally used by the English at this period for Marātha forces (see *Papers of Thomas Bowrey*, p. 245). The vague allusion in the text may refer to Malanggad or Bāva Malang, ten miles south of Kalyān, a strong hill fort, known from the broken outline of its basalt crest as the Cathedral Rock. It is one of the most picturesque, and most difficult to climb, of the Thāna Hills.

³ More commonly known as Hendry Kendry, correctly as Underi, Khānderi, two islands, about 1½ miles from each other, near the entrance of Bombay harbour. They were strongly fortified by Angria and figure prominently in the Bombay records during the period of his power. In 1718 the English unsuccessfully attempted to obtain possession of them.

⁴ Chaul (Cheul) or Revadanda, in Kolāba District, on the coast, about thirty miles south of Bombay, a place of great antiquity.

⁵ Kanhoji Angria was at this time an independent chieftain, holding a number of fortified positions on the west coast, having risen from obscurity by becoming admiral of the Marātha fleet in 1698. For many years he harassed the shipping and attacked and plundered undefended towns from

a savage Raja that lives and maintains his grandeur by rapine and pillaging, and it is from hence that he fits out his grabs and gallivats, who infest almost all shipping that sail in and out of Bombay, which obliges the Company to be at great charges in always maintaining a small fleet in the Port to keep them under and in awe, having had wars with him for several years.

The English fleet consists of five sail, one being a small frigate, the others a large grab, a yacht, a ketch and a montjeu¹. They have there a commodore and other officers amongst them, a detachment of soldiers out of the three companies belonging to the Castle, divided on board them, who act as marines. They weigh in and out almost every day on small cruizes, skirmishing now and then with Angria's grabs, who doth not care a farthing for them, sometimes braving and daring them in the Port, often threat[c]ning to invade the Island, tho' he hath not been hitherto as good as his word, tho' the Island is in a fit posture to receive him.

He once took, whilst I was there, several Indians belonging to the Island, whom he caused to be burnt with hot irons in the forehead to the bone, and then ordered them to go tell the General that that was his chop (*i.e.* mark) which he designed to fix upon all the English in Bombay, and that very shortly, which made us prepare to meet the storm of his arms, and a company of soldiers were ordered every night to march and quarter in the Company's garden adjoining to the Back Bay, where they expected he would land².

Besides these islands that lie somewhat remote, [there] are nearer and more imminent dangers. Such are Cross Island,

Surat to Travancore In 1725, by the intervention of Peter Curgenven (a free merchant whose ship was seized by Angria in 1720 and who remained prisoner until he ransomed himself), a composition was effected between the Bombay Council and the freebooter, and an exchange of prisoners took place See Downing, *History of the Indian Wars*; A. J. Curgenven, *Thomas Curgenven and three nephews*.

¹ See note 2 on p. 39

² No mention of this incident has been found in the Bombay records, but it may well have occurred in the period for which the Consultations are missing. As to the strength of Angria when Burnell left the Island, the Bombay Council reported (para. 26 of letter of 14 January 1711/12): "Conajee Angrin has seven castles, six stout groabs and fifty galvetts... want an engineer and materials to bomb him" (*Bomb. Abs.* vol. 1).

Middle Ground, the Oyster and Sunken Rock, and the [Prongs] Reef, of which I have treated already.

Cross Island¹ is a high round rocky homock rising out of the Bay about two miles off shore, being almost opposite to Mazagon. It is covered with green shrubs and milk bushes, having a large cross on its top. It is not inhabited except by large snakes and such like vermin. It is well seated and a very good height for a lanthorn, watch tower or magazine. To the north westward tails off a point of land visible at low water, and several rocks without it, between which and the island is a good channel for small craft, though shipping sail round to the eastward.

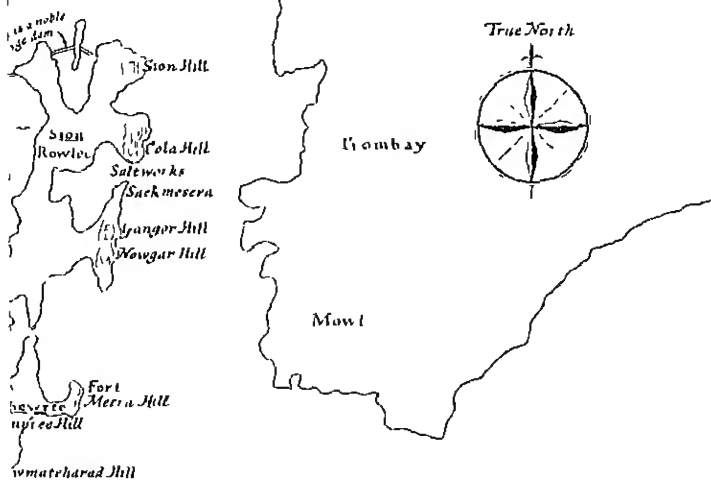
The Middle Ground² is a long stony reef, bearing E½S of the Castle about a mile and a quarter. In the monsoon time it is all of a breech and falls almost dry on a low nip. The Oyster Rock lies always above water and is about two cables in length, having another small rock on its south end and a good channel between it and Cola Island. The Sunken Rock³ is away to the south eastward of [blank], being small and always under water, lying in the fair way, which to be avoided by ships that are bound in, must observe the following marks and observations.

¹First, bring the seven trees above Malabar Point, they being on the highest land of Bombay, being divided, three of

¹ The description of Cross Island as being "about two miles off shore" is inaccurate, but serves to emphasize the extent to which the east side of Bombay Island has been enlarged by successive reclamations. It is now 630 yds distant from the wharf face of Carnac Bandar. The nearest point of the spur, which runs out for about 300 yds. from the S.W. corner of the Island, is only 350 yds. from the shore at low water. In Burnell's time Cross Island was about 1600 yds. from the shore. One explanation of its name is that the first Portuguese settlers (A.D. 1507-1509) erected a cross on it in sign of possession (see *Bomb. Gaz.* vol. xxvi, pt. III, p. 665), but this derivation is disputed. An early map of Bombay, however (B.M. Add. MSS. 15737. f. 19b), shows the Island surmounted by a cross.

² Middle Ground and Sunk Rock must have been dangerous to those who did not know the harbour. Middle Ground, owing to its size and position, would probably, as a rule, have betrayed itself, but Sunk Rock, not being large enough to show its existence plainly by surface commotion, would have been particularly dangerous. For Oyster Rock see note 1 on p. 31.

³ This, and the next six paragraphs, with some slight variations in the wording, are practically identical with the sailing directions given on



Here the Company's vessels are laid up in the monsoons. A good harbour for laying a vessel of 3 or 400 tons aground either to mend or cleanse her bottom.

-5-

Walden des Owerain, Flugelwäpfer
Banderwäpfer

22

at Hill { Its top is adorned with a multitude
of Palm trees or Brad trees Here
also is the Mark House

Remarks, which had
died up before 1710

Butcher's Island
Beef for the Company's table
is generally sent here to fatten

Cross Island
It is not inhabited except by large
snakes and such like vermin

The Island of Elephants
Here is an old large Pagoda wherein
are stone idols of a monstrous prop-
ortion; as likewise a large elephant
carved in stone.

A Reconstruction of
B O M B A Y
as it appeared in 1710

Based on a plan prepared by the Bombay Port Trust

Scale of Miles

"Packarys" underlined

them to the eastward and four to the west, leaving an opening between them, also Sir John Child's Tomb on Old Woman's Island, which being brought into the opening between the seven trees, brings you upon the Sunken Rock, upon which is seventeen feet water. If you bring the single tree standing upon Malabar Hill over the middle of the second row or range of trees standing upon Colay [Colāba] Island, brings you as before, these being the thwart marks to find the danger.

To avoid the Sunken Rock or to know when you are to the northward or southward of it, bring Sir John Child's Tomb to the westward of the seven trees and then you may be sure you are to the southward of it, these being the best and surest marks.

The longest mark, together with the first and second observation, to find this rock, is the Old House of Mazagon, being square and without a roof and stands upon the top of Tomberree [Mazagon] Hill, being brought upon the neck of the north east bastion of Bombay Castle will certainly bring you to find the rock.

To go to the eastward of this rock, bring Mazagon House just open to the eastward of the flank and extreme angle of the

pp 35-6 in the 1703 edition of *The English Pilot: The Third Book* (B M Maps, 22d 30): "Thwart marks to sail into Bombay and the Sunken-Rock." The main points of difference are:

(1) Where Burnell writes "Sir John Child's Tomb" *The English Pilot* has "a single and the tallest coco-nut tree upon Old Woman's Island"

(2) In the second paragraph Burnell has omitted a couple of lines after "seven trees," the portion left out being "and then you are certainly to the northward of the Sunken Rock, and if you be to the eastward of the seven trees, you may be sure" etc.

(3) In the third paragraph, where Burnell writes "upon the top of Tomberree Hill," *The English Pilot* has "the side of Mazagon-Hill."

(4) In the sixth paragraph, where Burnell writes "Keep Mazagon Fort just to the eastward of Caredaw Hill, being greater and higher" etc., *The English Pilot* has "Keep the House standing on the east point of Mazagon, just on the west side of Garlick hill, being green and higher than" etc. At the end of the paragraph, where Burnell writes "foul rocky ground mixt with hard sand," *The English Pilot* has "said to be sand, by experience unequal rocks"

(5) In the last paragraph, where Burnell writes "bring Mazagon Fort upon the east of Caredaw, half open and half shut in, so that you can just see the Fort," *The English Pilot* has "Bring the house upon Mazagon Point upon the east of Garlick-hill, but rather half [the] House open to the eastward of the hill."

north east bastion and so keep it till Sir John Child's tomb is to the westward of the seven trees, and then you will be to the northward of the rock; or when you are bound out [and] the tomb to the eastward of the seven trees, you are certainly southward of the danger, which marks you may safely sail by.

To go between the Oyster and Sunken Rock, which is a clear channel and at low water 4 fathom from rock to rock within two ships breadth, also 3 fathom at the rocks nose; this channel is ousey and by estimation one mile; the longest mark is Mazagon House shut in behind the highest part of Bombay Castle, which mark you may depend on for safety.

To find the Middle Ground. Keep Mazagon Fort just to the eastward of Caredaw Hill, being greater and higher than any of the nearer land of Bombay, by which it may be easily known, and the high trees to the eastward of Bombay just open to the south westward of the Union Flag. This brings you upon the danger, whereon is not above five feet at low water, and very unequal depths, being foul rocky ground mixt with hard sand.

To sail clear of this danger into Bombay Road, bring Mazagon Fort upon the east of Caradaw, half open and half shut in, so that you can just see the Fort; being kept so, will carry you to the westward of this danger; then you may borow¹ and come to an anchor, the flag staff bearing N. N. W. a large half mile, at low water depth 4 fathom and three quarters ousey ground.

Thus, Sir, I have entertained you with the ancient and present state of Bombay. What is left out concerning the inhabitants, their manners and religion, you may expect from me in my next.

I am with all the humble sense of my duty

Your obedient son,

BOMBAY, *May 12th*, 1710.

J.²

¹ Borow, i.e. approach closely.

² A signature follows, consisting of a J. and a flourish, so it seems as if either Burnell did not add the B. or else that Orme's copyist failed to decipher the letter. The date, too, presents a difficulty, since, on pages 32 and 37 Burnell alludes to his departure from Bombay, which did not take place until a year later. Perhaps 1710 is a mistake for 1711.

Sir,

As in my last I gave you a general account of the Island and the effects it is productive of, so in this I shall entertain you with an account of its inhabitants, their customs and manner of living, and conclude the whole with an account of their religion and worship, as I had it related to me by several ancient Brachmen [Brāhmans] whom I employed to that intent, being at no small cost and trouble to gather and compile these small observations I shall here relate, which I shall esteem as but my duty if they grant you but any pleasure in the perusal, seeing my chief design in getting them was purely for your entertainment.

The Indians that inhabitt his Island are divided into three classes: the Moors [Muhammadans], Gentiles and Perse[c]s. Of the Moors I shall treat of elsewhere, having had more convenient opportunity to inspect into their manners whilst I was about amongst them in Bengal, therefore shall beg leave to be silent concerning them till such time as I come to treat of that country, and at present I shall confine this epistle to the two latter, they being by much the more numerous inhabitants. And first of the Gentiles.

The Gentiles (or as they are vulgarly called, Gentows)¹ are those different nations and people unto whom the Son of God was sent as a bright illumination, to shew them the paths of salvation, and of this profession was the Apostle St Paul in the days of Church persecution, till such time as he was converted by the glory of God in his journey to Damascus, and afterwards became (tho' he confesseth himself born out of due time) a powerful member of Christ.

They are pagans of an ancient date and received their idolatry in the first ages of the world, as some have asserted from Cain, who after the vengeance of God denounc'd against him, wandered as a vagabond on the earth, betook him to the adoration of the sun as the most glorious representation of the Almighty, which being handed down to posterity, in time they deviated from their ancestors and became worshippers of wood and stone, the work of mens hands. These pagan

¹ See note 2 on p. 13.

Gentiles likewise were the first that debauch'd God's people the Jews and made them go a whoring after their idols, as those of Baal Peor, Ashtaroth, Dagon, &c.

The remaining part of them that inhabit this Eastern orb are those accounted to be an innocent harmless people, obsequious and humble to all, and more inclined to receive than give an abuse, being mostly averse to acts of hostility, the shedding of blood being held as an abomination, they abstaining from it in the violence of their rage, contenting themselves with giving and receiving a few hard words, their tongues being the sharpest weapon they manage in their broils, they seldom coming to blows, tho' now and then they undergo the penance of slippering, which is taking off the shoe and spitting on the sole, strike their adversary over the head, which is more detestable to them than spitting in the face is accounted amongst Europeans.

Yet tho' the majority of them are thus tame and not subject to offer affronts, they have one tribe among them called Rashpoots [Rājputs] that are not so scrupulously nice in relation to shedding of blood, but will fight stoutly and are generally reputed good soldiers.

They are also very temperate in their diet and apparel and as [? are] much given to hospitality; their raiment with which they are generally cloathed in most parts of India, especially the Mogul's dominions, being a white or coloured turban, bound up after various forms and fashions, according as by whom it is worn. This covers the head and by the Gentiles is made up smaller and more compact than what is commonly worn by the Moors; as doth likewise their upper garment differ in wear, tho' not in fashion¹. They are called cabays² and are coats of white muslin or callico, sitting close to the body, the breast doubling over to the upper corner; where it is made

¹ For the dress of Muhammadans, the fashion of which varies throughout the country, see Herklots, *Qānūn-i-Islām*, ed. Crooke, pp. 300-1, where the loosely wound turban and tightly fitting upper garment are described.

² Cabays, Ar. *habā*, a vesture, a long tunic of muslin, the common garment of the better classes in India. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Cabaya.

fast, hangeth a bunch of strings. Thus the Moors tie on the right side, the Gentiles on the left, which is a mark of distinction among them¹. The sleeves are extremely long and so narrow at the wrist as will just admit the hand to be thrust through, setting on the arm in folds. What remains, from the waist downwards is in fashion of a petticoat, being set round the middle full of gathers. Under them they wear long drawers coming down to their heels, and round their waist a shawl made of fine Carmania wool², like our serges, the end for a foot deep being of a different colour and are wove into flowers. Thus they wear hanging down to their knees like a sash, or commonly cover their heads with it to screen them from the sun. They have a short broad dagger, running tapering to the point with a polish'd or silver handle, being composed of two bars about nine inches long, being distant from one another the breadth of a man's hand, and fix'd at a distance by a gripe to lay hold on in time of action. This is called a gattaree³, by others a creiss⁴, and is fixt into the girdle on the left side, being an ugly and treacherous implement, design'd only for downright stabbing.

Their shoes which they wear, and into which they always thrust their feet bare, are either leather or covered over with cloth of different colours and are commonly worn slipshod. They turn up much in the toes and have the upper leather embroidered with silk or gold thread flowers, which make them look very beautiful⁵.

Besides these garments they are mightily adorned and splendidly set off with jewels and costly ornaments in gold or silver, wearing in either ear large rings of gold, beset with

¹ Burnell is wrong. It is the jacket of the Musalmān which is fastened on the left and that of the Hindu on the right (except in Kashmīr). See Herklots, p. 301; Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Dress, p. 163.

² The ancient province of Carmania (Kerman) in Persia, whence was obtained the fine soft wool from which these garments were woven.

³ Hind. *katar*, Skt. *kattāra*, a dagger. Burnell's description of this weapon is very apt. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Kuttaur.

⁴ The creiss or *cris* (Javanese *kris*) is properly the Malay dagger, but the term was applied to other similar weapons. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Crease, *Cris*.

⁵ Burnell is describing the heelless embroidered slipper worn by men. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Dress, p. 166.

pearls and rubies, as likewise on their fingers, and two rings of the same metal embellish'd with precious stones, and round their arms large gold or silver bracelets, their waists hoop'd round with a girdle of the same, in which they pride themselves extremely¹.

The womens apparel is as much different from the mens as among us in Europe, being two coverings of silk, commonly of crimson, that being their beloved colour². The first piece is rolled round the waist coming down to their feet, tho' some bring one corner of it between their legs and tuck it in behind them, letting the garment fall no lower than their knees, leaving the legs bare. The other is loosely flung over the head and shoulders; their hair which is long and black, being bound up tight and fastned behind with a silver or gold bodkin, whose head is large and adorned with precious stones. They use a sort of tacus³ to the face, black like ink, wherewith they stroak themselves under the eyes, accounting it very beautiful, their teeth being dy'd red or black by the frequent use of betel.

Other ornaments which they wear are billets⁴ about their arms and legs, and a great number of rings on the hands and toes, and a jewel of pearl or rubies fixed in gold wire and hangs dangling from the nose upon the upper lip. Of these ornaments the most abject female is not destitute, but wear them either of brass, glass or ivory, though those that move in a higher sphere have them of massy gold or silver, adorned with variety of precious stones in which they are not wanting.

The Brachmen go mostly naked⁵, saving a clout to cover their nakedness, and a small cap of red cloth on the head,

¹ In this account of the jewellery worn by the inhabitants of Bombay, Burnell is referring to the upper classes, the ornaments of artisans and peasants being of base metal.

² The colour in favour, however, depends upon the district. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Dress, p. 166.

³ On this word Mr C. E. A. W. Oldham has supplied me with the following note: "The reference is to the use of collyrium (preparation of antimony), Pers *surma*, Ar. *kahl*, which is applied round the eyes. 'Tacus' is a corruption of *tikhā* (Hind. from the Skt.), meaning a mark on the forehead or between the eyebrows, an ornamental patch, etc."

⁴ Billet is here used in the sense of a strap or band.

⁵ Burnell is referring to Brāhman ascetics only.

wearing a cotton string belonging to their order or profession, composed of 9 strand[s]. It hangs over the left shoulder and comes down to the right hip¹. This none presume to wear but what have a title to it, belonging particularly to that tribe; in other parts of India the Gentiles wear it promiscuously; neither are they so curious [particular] in several other points of their law². Their feet are fix't upon flat pieces of wood, rais'd about two inches from the ground, and shaped like the sole of a foot, with two wooden pegs which go between the great and second toe and keep them from falling off the feet³. The complexion of these Indians is mostly of a dark copper. The men shave the head like the Moors, leaving a lock growing on the pole⁴. They let the beard grow, trimming it into form and order, at which the barbers are very expert, who carries a small bason with him, about the bigness of a tea cup, and which he fills with cold water. The razor he useth hath a blade as broad almost as it is long, and is thick, and the back fixt into a long straight handle like a knife. When he hath done shaving, he presents you with a steel mirror to look in. It is round, and for shape and clearness like a new scowered and-iron, having a short handle. He likewise picks the ears and pares the nails, champs⁵ or stretches the joints of the fingers and toes, all for a small gratuity.

The Gentiles that have no publick call abroad spend the day generally in their houses, having large halls, covered on the floors with carpets or fine mats, where the better sort sit

¹ The sacred triple thread, made in various ways in different parts of India. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Thread, Sacred, p. 472, where, in North India, the thread is said to consist of three (not nine) strands of 96 threads

² Burnell is alluding to the wearing, now fairly common, of the sacred thread by those who are not members of the "twice-born" castes.

³ These sandals are still worn in some Hindu temples, and—according to Sir Jivanji Modi—by Parsi priests (who call them *kharan*) "when officiating in the inner circle of liturgies."

⁴ Burnell's information here is incorrect. The fashion of wearing the hair among Hindu males was various, and the tuft left on the crown of Musalmān boys when first shaved was not usual among adults. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Dress, p. 161; Herklots, p. 303.

⁵ Champs, i.e. massages (Hind. *champna*). See Mundy, vol. II, p. 86, for the earliest instance of the use of the term champing. See also *Life of Jón Olafsson*, vol. II, pp. 117, 193.

and receive visits. When they first rise in a morning, they prepare themselves by prayer for their ablutions either in their own house or by the side of an adjacent tank. Those that perform the ceremony at home have a four-square stool placed for them about six inches in height, on which they place themselves whilst their servants assist in washing and wiping them dry with clean linen cloaths, and after apparel themselves with such cloaths and ornaments they design for that day. Then, entering into the chamber set apart for their household god, they begin their devotions in solemn wise after this manner¹.

Having seated themselves before the altar, they take up water in the bowl of the left palm and in the right hand a piece of the stone (gopachandana)², which is not very hard, but of a soft porous nature, which they rubbing round in the left hand, discolours the water, while they continuing the action till it is of the consistency of paint, repeating slowly some orations in the Sanxrution [Sanskrit] dialect, which is a more refined language and in which their laws are written, being in use with them as with us Latin, then with the forefinger dipp'd in the aforesaid pigment, they mark themselves on the forehead with three pretty large strokes representing the Trinity³ they adore. Then they mark the belly, breast and elbows, next the neck and back⁴. They having thus far proceeded, wash their hands, and they take an indifferent large copper, brass or silver bason, with a smaller of like resemblance, containing about the quantity of a large spoon, and then proceed on with the ceremony.

They first pour water from the small vessel into the right hand and swallow it three times, chanting forth hymns and songs of praise, and then offer it as an oblation to the earth, taking the water next in the left hand, over which they rub the right hand thumb, and throw that down. Then the same

¹ This is an imperfect description of some of the various ceremonies enjoined on the Hindu to remove pollution which would prevent the performance of his daily worship. Burnell, however, seems to have confused the practices of Hindus and Musalmāns. See Herklots, p. 55.

² *Gopi-chandana*, a white clay.

³ Vishnu, Śiva, Brahmā

⁴ Burnell is here confusing sectarian and caste marks. See Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. II, p. 30.

ceremony is again performed, excepting the water is thrown upon their heads, the water being taken up with the right hand and swallowed, after which it is again thrown upon the head. Then the water being taken up with the right hand, it is three times thrown on the earth, next swallow the like number of gulps and is again thrown down.

Next, the water being taken with the right hand, it is thrown into the air as an oblation to that element, and then sprinkled in the four corners of the room, being sacrificed to the four cardinal points of the heavens, or properly to the winds, it being held by them as a distinct element. Then joining both hands together, they receive the water therein, casting it up in the air; then, taking up the vessel wherein the water is contained, they sprinkle the room all over, repeating divers hymns and songs of praise. Then with the right hand they touch both feet, the knees, belly, breast, the neck and both arms; then the mouth, ears, eyes, forehead, head, back of the head, and lastly the back, throwing the water on the ground. This they do in respect to the different parts of man's body whereof Bramaw [Brahmā] formed so many different [blank] Then joining their hands, repeating several orations (which they likewise do to every particular ceremony), they complete their morning exercise.

Before they set down to meals, especially dinner, they are likewise very ceremonious, using the same ceremony as is before related, but with some difference in the prayers they make and orations, which ceremonies repeated, they add to them the following; first, placing a large clean piece of wood before the idol, on which they set, they take rice and throw it on the pagod and water on the ground before the altar. Then they adorn the god with flowers, and taking rice and water together, offer it before the altar, and light the incense pot, on which they lay myrrh, cinnamon, and lignum aloes, to send forth a sweet and pleasant savour, with which they perfume the altar. Next an oblation is offered of butter [*ghi*] and sugar, betel leaf and money, throwing water before the idol; after

¹ All these—rice, water, incense, *ghi*, sugar, copper coins—are protectives against ghosts and the Evil Eye. See Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. II, chap. I.

which they take a brass lamp supplied with butter, which being lighted, is also plac'd on the altar; then the stone gopachandana mix'd with flowers and the shavings of perfum'd wood is strown over the image; they concluding the ceremony with devout prayers and orations.

The women of the house, whose business it is to provide the dinner, having placed every thing in order, they seat themselves down to the repast, crosslegg'd like taylor's, or rather on their knees with the calves of their legs under them, in which manner they will sit very upright and majestic; others lay themselves down to their meals with a large pillow under their breast, the meat being before them.

When it is time to begin, the men altogether take water and sprinkle round the leaf whereon the victuals is placed, they very seldom making use of dishes, but eat mostly off of leaves which are thrown away when done with, and for the next repast new ones provided. This part of the ceremony being over, they separate four small portions of what the banquet consists and lie down on the ground beside them; then, taking water in the right hand, swallow it and proceed to fill their bellies¹.

Their food consists wholly on rice, butter [*ghi*], milk, herbs, fruits and sweetmeats, they never tasting the flesh of any animal, accounting it a sin to destroy them², being [blank] with the opinion of transmigration, which they so firmly believe that the destroying of any live creature is with them a crime inexpressible, believing they have dislodg'd a soul and give it the trouble of wandering up and down in quest of a new habitation.

Pythagoras³ the Greek is presum'd to have borrowed his opinion from them, being at Babylon when the wonderful transformation happened to Nebuchadnezzar, and Philostratus relates of Jarchas, a principal of the Brachmen, who [how]

¹ See Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Food, p. 227, for eating regarded as a sacrament among high-caste Hindus

² But see Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Food, p. 228, for the special kinds of flesh, etc. consumed by Brāhmans.

³ This and the following paragraph are taken, with very slight variations, from Ovington, pp. 168-9.

he told Apollonius Tyanaeus, that he himself had formerly been Gynges [Ganges], Apollonius had been an Egyptian mariner, and an attendant that waited upon them had been Palamedes, and in new bodies had presented themselves to the world.

This opinion spread itself as far formerly as our nation among the Druids, who for this reason taught and prescribed an abstinence from flesh. They fancy every man, according to his demerits in his lifetime, shall animate a noble or more infamous animal after death; and him they pronounce truly happy whose soul, after its departure out of the body, can fortunately escape into that of a cow and inform the body of that blest creature, which above all the rest of the animal generation is in singular esteem and greatest respect, even almost to adoration. A solemn address is paid to this creature every morning, and he that is destitute of one at home makes his visit to that of his neighbours. They admire it for the excellency of its nature, for which it is conspicuous in those extraordinary benefits which mankind receive from it in the support of their lives, and for the conveniency of it after death in conducting them over a broad deep river which they are engaged to pass, and which would be impossible were it not for the cows tail, which the Brachmen say they must lay hold on in getting over.

Their marriages are solemnized very early, coupling their children at five or six years of age or younger, and cohabit at twelve or thirteen, and sometimes sooner, being politickly deem'd by the parents to kindle in them a love and liking to one another¹. [A whole line blank] to the men polygamy is not allowed of², nor no second marriage to the women, who are ever after obliged to a disconsolate widowhood; tho' the husband should die at the age of seven or eight, before they cohabit, yet is no pity given to the suffering lady, but she

¹ See Ovington, p. 189, from whom Burnell seems to have borrowed. See also Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Marriage, p. 316, for the reason for infant marriages.

² Burnell is wrong. Polygamy is not forbidden to Hindus, but in his day it had become usual for a man to have but one wife. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Polygamy, p. 386. See also Ovington, p. 191.

must live a celebrated [?celibate] vestal all the remainder of her life¹.

When the parents of both parties are consenting to the match, they always consult the Brachmen², producing before them the papers whereon is calculated the nativity of the two persons that are to be joined, which they having consulted and declared their sentiments concerning the prosperity of the marriage, the next thing they enter upon is the looking out for a lucky day whereon to solemnize it, which having found and it being agreed upon, they depart for the present and wait for its arrival.

The day appointed being come, a Brachman is dispatch'd from the bridegroom's house to the bride³, he carrying along with him two bowls or vessels of brass, the one much larger than the other, and delivers them to a Brachman who upon this occasion is present in the bride's apartment, which having received, he fills the largest bowl or vessel with water and puts into it the lesser, which swims upon the surface of the liquid, having a small hole in the bottom through which the water ascends till it is full, and then the cup sinks. This is one gury⁴ or hour of time; three, five or seven of them are accounted lucky. The which being expired, the bridegroom comes accompanied with his friends, where being arrived, he is conducted into her, where they standing in the middle of the company, have a fine piece of silk or cloth held between or separating them. Then the Brachmen, repeating the ceremony, joineth their hands and they depart to the bridegroom's habitation, where they are seated on fine rich carpets, being sump[tuously apparell'd, as are likewise the guests that are assisting at the ceremony, which lasts several days; on the first the bride and bridegroom are permitted to dine near one another.

¹ Widow-marriage is, however, only forbidden among the higher Hindu castes.

² That is, the Brähman astrologer

³ For marriage rites, see Hopkins, p. 270, Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 319. See also Ovington, p. 193, *Life of Jón Ólafsson*, vol. II, p. 170.

⁴ Hind. *ghari*, a clepsydra or water-instrument for measuring time. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Ghurry; Mundy, vol. II, p. 169 and note.

On these occasions is generally built a large slight edifice, tho' sumptuously adorned within with variety of painted paper work cut in various forms and made up into flowers to beautify the portals, with which it is splendidly adorned, having over them a multitude of niches, which are set out with chrystal bottles filled with various coloured water, behind which are fixt lamps, causing a pleasing object and bright illumination. Neither is it destitute of variety of painted lanthorns thickly diversified up and down, circulating with the smoke of the candles, which renders it extremely light and pleasing.

There is a distinct apartment built for the bride and bridegroom, covered with carpets and adorn'd with cloths of gold, having a seat with large velvet pillows to set or lean on. Here, on the fourth day of the ceremony, is laid a large plantain leaf, when the uncle of the bride and aunt of the bridegroom bringing them, place them so as to stand upon it. Then the Brachman prayeth for their happiness and prosperity, and having finished his oration, the company throw rice upon them¹, and they set themselves down to a banquet of sweet-meats, the several attendants serving round to the company the rich oyls of saffron and roses, which they rub on their cloaths, and sprinkle them all over with rose water, being entertain'd with musick and dancing girls and every thing else that is diverting.

The sixth in the evening they make their progress round the town in the greatest splendor. The bridegroom richly apparelled is mounted upon a noble steed with stately trappings, having carried over his head two large [blank], several punes² to keep off the flies with horse tail fans³ stuck in long silver handles. The bride is seated in a palanquen. Thus are they attended through the town with musick, flags and bright illuminations, having fireworks of divers forms blown up before the[m], resembling trees and fountains, being attended with a concourse of people that assist at these joyful cere-

¹ As a protection from evil

² Punes, more commonly, peons, Port *peño*, Sp. *peon*. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Peon.

³ The bushy tail of the Tibetan yak, used as a fly-whisk. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Chowry.

monies, and mirth and jollity shining in the countenances of all.

Thus do they ride in a magnificent progress till they have finished their tour and are come to the place they set forth from, when they are met by the bridegroom's mother in law, attended with a number of maidens carrying lighted lamps in the one hand, the other being filled with rice, which they shower down plentifully upon the heads of the young couple; and so the ceremony ends.

The guests are then invited in to take part of a collation ready provided, being entertained all the while with musick and dancing guls. These are women bred up purposely to that intent, being a separate tribe by themselves¹. They are gorgeously apparelled, shining from head to foot in silks of gold, their waist encompass'd with broad silver girdles and in all their ornaments precious stones, some of great value. Their manner of dancing is quite different from ours, they very seldom moving their feet, but stand 4 or 5 of them in a row and wrist [*sic*, ?twist] about their heads and arms, giving motion to almost every muscle in their bodies. They turn themselves round with exceeding nimbleness and all the while they are performing they sing to the musick, rowling their eyes about in a chearful or languishing air, having a whole house full of admirers and generally captivate one third of the company, who are so much delighted with their society that they will spend whole nights in these sorts of diversions.

Their musick consists of a drum tied round the middle and beat upon at both ends with the palms and fingers of the hand². To this is joined two or three men more with small hollow pieces of brass like bells, which they strike the one against the other, yielding much the same sound as those they resemble, they singing and beating them with great vehemence, which makes a strange sort of a confused harmony and unintelligible to us, as the finest of our musick would be to them, which they as much laugh at on the other side.

As the chief intent of matrimony is generation and the

¹ Nautch girls. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Dancing, p. 120

² The tom-tom (*tamtam*) or native drum.

fulfilling the command enjoined us of increasing and multiplying our species here on earth, that the number of God's elect may be completed in the latter days, so as most nations pay great honour and respect to this nuptial joy, the Gentiles are none of the least in procurating of children. When the woman is delivered, the Brachmen are straightway summoned to erect a scheme of the heavens and calculate the nativity of the new born infant, and see what good or bad fortune is allotted it, believing it is wrote on the inside of its forehead by the finger of the Omnipotence¹. When the scheme is perfected, the neighbourhood assemble to congratulate the father on the tender offspring, he then in the presence of the assembly dipping the great toe of his right foot in a small cup of water, which is given the child to drink, making an oblation to the gods for the blessing bestowed upon him, and then regales his friends with a chearful repast

On the sixth day, which is sacred to the goddess Satee², their friends are likewise assembled, when they make a sacrifice to that goddess. If they have never a household god, they make use of an arrack [areca] nut, which is placed on a large green leaf, the Brachman inscribing a circle round it with eight lines drawn from the center, representing the cardinal points of the heavens. Then is an offering made to it of rice, butter, sugar, fruits, and flowers. The ceremony concluded, the guests divert themselves with mirth and gladness³.

On the day Barsow⁴, which is the twelfth after delivery, their friends are likewise called upon, and then is the infant laid in the middle of a large sheet, the corners being supported by four or more children. On the child is strew'd a quantity of rice, which those that hold up the ends of the sheet rowl him about in. Then the father's sister gives it its name, it being her right; but in case she do decline it, or that he hath no sisters

¹ For the preparation of the horoscope of nativity, see Crooke, *Things Indian*, s v. Astrology.

² Sati, one of the many names under which the goddess Umi is worshipped. See Barth, p. 165.

³ For birth ceremonies, see Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 59 *et seq.*

⁴ *Bāras*, the twelfth day. For the naming ceremony, Bunnell follows Ovington, p. 197.

he names it himself. The woman remains unclean for the space of thirty days¹, when commences her purification, all that time being touched by none excepting an old nurse that attends her. When the time for her purification is expired, she goes attended with her relations to the pagoda, walking under a canopy that is supported over her, where she maketh an offering of fruits and flowers. Then the Brachman pronounces her clean.

They bring up their children from the breast to the age of six or seven stark naked, having not so much as a rag of cloaths to cover any part of their body, tho' their arms and legs are adorned with bracelets of gold or silver, and round their waist a chain work'd silver girdle, with small silver bells hanging round their privities.

When² age or diseases hath unravell'd the brittle skam of life and hath brought these people to taste of the bitterness of death, the most agreeable end they think they can make of their friends is the consuming them to ashes in that lively element which containeth the most purifying virtues.

When a Gentile is dead, they first wash the body with cold water, and then covering it with a clean white linnen cloth, they lay it upon a bier so as are in use amongst us, which the Froses³ (a cast of people set apart for all offices of defilement) taking up, it is accompanied with its friends and relations to the sea side, or if in the country inland, near some running or standing water, where being set down, they erect a pile of billets. To the rich is added cassia and wood of aloes, on which they lay the corps extended at full length. Then the eldest son of the deceased, or nearest relation, sets fire to the pile, whilst others fling upon it oil or butter. Thus the body is consumed,

¹ See Hopkins, p. 541 n., for impurity after childbirth.

² This and the four following paragraphs are those mentioned in the Introduction as having been reproduced in the *Asiatic Journal*. The only striking differences between the two versions are those already noted, but there are numerous minor variations, e.g. "skayn" for "skain," "bair" for "bier," "pyle" for "pile," "oyle" for "oil," "Brachmans" for "Brachmen," "throw" for "through," etc.

³ Froses, commonly, Farashes, Frashes, Hind. *farrāsh*, a menial servant. The copy in the *Asiatic Journal* has "Froses." Burnell seems to have confused *farrāsh* with the low-caste Halalcore.

sending forth black and noisome exhalations, which is in some measure taken off by the fragiency of the wood. When all is turned into ashes, they depart to their different habitations, very disconsolate for the loss of their friend, debarring themselves that day of any sweet or pleasant sustenance, chusing that which is sharp and of an acid quality¹.

On the third day some of the nearest relations go to rake in the ashes for the breast, elbow and teat [feet] bones, which they carry home with them, and after some time pass'd, send them to be flung into the tank Baginarathee², which is several leagues up in the country, or else content themselves with casting them into the sea.

Some of these Gentiles are so strangely bigotted to a sort of madness, that when they think the party visited past recovery, and the Brachmen tell them is a good hour for him to die in, they will hurry him down alive to the flaming pile, and if he make any noise or pray them to desist, they will stop his mouth full of dirt and carry him to the fire, thinking that they have brought bliss to his soul, which if they had stay'd till an unlucky minute, might have caused it to endure endless misery in its pilgrimage through the bodies of different brute animals. After this manner was Joshua Dun³, the Company's broker in Bengal, served when he was pretty well in health, which the Governor hearing, sent immediately to stop the proceedings and remand him back to his house. But when all was still and quiet, the Brachmen having found out another lucky minute, they hurried him down to the fire and in they hove him.

¹ For funeral rites, see Crooke, *Things Indian*, s v Dead, Disposal of.

² The Bhāgīrathi, an offshoot of the Ganges, here used for the Ganges itself.

³ This, and the rendering in the copy in the *Asiatic Journal*, "Johnathan Das," are, as Sir Evan Cotton remarks, delightful Hobson-Jobson's (nearly equal to "Sir Roger Dowlah") for Janārdan Seth, the Company's broker at Calcutta. His death is thus recorded at a consultation held at Fort William on 11 February 1711/12: "On the 9th instant our broker dyed (Jonardunseat). This years business being pretty near a conclusion, and all the merchants accounts being in his brother Bernarseseats [Vāranāsi Seth] hands, agreed that he act in his stead as broker for this season." (*Bengal Public Procs* vol. II). As Burnell was not dismissed from his post in Madras until the end of May 1712, he could not have been present at the burial of Janārdan Seth and his story is therefore only hearsay.

Formerly the wife always burnt for company, but now those barbarous actions are detested by the Moors under whose government they mostly live¹. They have put a period to those proceedings, tho' it is still in practice in several Rajah's countries that are not tributary to the Mogul, and is sometimes connived at in their territories, where a large present will make them wink at such actions. There you shall see sometimes brought before a Nabob or Governor, a beautiful young creature earnestly supplicating and imploring to be burnt with her husband which, if her request is granted, she goeth attended with all signs of mirth and gladness, being richly adorned and attended with all her consorts, who follow her with songs of praise, and the Brachmen informing her how happy they shall be in the enjoyment of one another in the other world. When she hath mounted the pile and embraceth her dead husband, they fasten her down with a cord lest she should repent her bargain and leap out of the fire and so leave the husband to burn by himself. When she is fast, they set fire to the wood, the smoke of which presently suffocates her, where they consume together. When a great Rajah dies, they burn eight or ten of his wives and several servants with him to attend on him in the next world, it being esteemed a great honour thus to die with their husband, and she that refuseth to burn hath immediately her head shaved, which to a woman is the greatest reproach, and she is turned out from among her relations and becomes ever after a despicable object².

The Gentiles have several days in the year set apart for feasting or solemn occasions, as the Devally, or Ganess Choutha, which falls out about the latter end of July or the first full moon before or after the end of that month³, and

¹ The practice of suttee (*satt*) was discouraged, but not forbidden in the Mughal Empire. See Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 39; Mundy, vol II, pp 35, 179-80, Moicland, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 30 n.

² For seventeenth-century accounts of *satt*, see *Life of Jón Ólafsson*, vol II, p. 135, Mundy, vol II, p. 34; Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 37.

³ The Dewally (Hind. *Diwālī*) or Feast of Lamps is not held in July, but in the dark fortnight of the month of Karttik, that is, usually in October (see Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Festivals, p. 212). It is here confused with an entirely different festival, Ganesh Chatūrtī.

lasteth several days, at which times they divert themselves with divers pastimes and have free recourse to the gaming ordinaries. The chief cause, as they tell you, of the institution of the feast was thus.

When the God Gunis [Ganesh] condescended to leave his celestial abode and visit sinful mortals here on earth, and having fought many great and glorious battles against the Dairthas [*daitya*, demon] (enemies to the gods), whom he overcame in several signal victories, it fortun'd on a certain time that Gunis lighting (being out to divert himself one fine moonshine night) upon a rat, which animal he is always painted or carved sitting upon 'The moon breaking silence thus accosted him: "Thou great and ever living spirit, thou that hath atchieved such mighty victories over our enemies the Dairthas, I cannot refrain from falling into excessive laughters at the consideration of thy condescension to choose so mean an animal to seat thy divine body on." Which unwelcome mirth so displeased Gunis that in a passion he said, "I strictly command for the future that no mortal see thy face on this night yearly". Which custom is religiously observed by the Gentiles of all casts, none presuming to violate the commands of Gunes in appearing out of their houses on that night, being the beginning of their feast¹.

They have another solemn feast the beginning of September called Viziadassama or Dassaraw, they all repairing to the tree Aptew, unto which they make solemn sacrifice and pay their devotions. At their departure the Brachmen give them a small modicum of dust taken from the ground and folded up in the leaf of a tree, which something resembles the betel leaf, telling them it is gold, which they firmly believe². I asked a Bramin

¹ Burnell is here repeating a legend current in Bombay, to account for the festival of Ganesh Chatūrtī, the birthday of Ganesh (see Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. I, p. 13). It has nothing to do with the Diwālī festival.

² Vijayādasamī or Dasaharā (Dasahrā), so-called from *dash*, ten, and *harā*, that which removes or expiates, a ten-day festival in honour of the goddess Durga. A description of the way in which this festival is observed in Bombay is given in the *Bomb. City Gaz.* vol. I, p. 173, which concludes: "On the morning of the tenth or Dasara day the Hindus take an early bath and worship their religious books (*granthis*) and household gods, and in the

who I kept as my scrivant¹ (he writing very good English) whether he believed anything of that matter. He replied that though it appeared to our outward eyes to be nothing but dirt, yet he was well sensible and did really believe in his heart that it was real gold. So bigotted are these people to a multitude of ridiculous fancies.

About January or February they have another feast when they fling and bedaub one another with a sort of lake colour powder, fling it into the face and eyes and besquirt one another with saffron water, which they wear upon their cloaths sometimes for a fortnight after².

They are divided into 24 tribes or casts³, each distinct from the other, as the Brachmen, Jogues [*Jogi*], Banians [*Baniyā*], Shroffs [*Sariāf*], Goldsmiths, Braziers, Weavers, Tailors, &c., they never mixing in consanguini^{ty} or marriage, or set down to eat in the house of a different cast from themselves, but keep always in the same line from father to son, their professions or occupations being hereditary, having likewise some small difference in relation to religious affairs.

The Banians or merchants are not only rich and wealthy, but like the rest of the world are covetous after more, placing the height of their happiness in riches, which they will scrape together by mean and petty offices, some of them amassing prodigious sums of money, being accounted worth 90 or a 100 lacks [*lāk*h], or so many times a 100,000 rupees.

The Shroffs are bankers or men that inspect into the good-

afternoon they don holiday attire and walk in procession to the temples. The largest gatherings take place at Mumbādevi, Bhuleshvar and Madhav Baug. Here the people worship the *shami* or *apta* tree, and after offering the leaves to the goddess, distribute them among their friends and relatives, calling them gold "

¹ Clerk, Port *escrivão*.

² This is the Holt festival which lasts about fifteen days in February-March, and dates from Vedic times. The most probable theory of its origin is that it was designed to celebrate the return of spring. Observance of this festival in Bombay has been deprived of much of the licence which formerly characterized it, but the practice of throwing coloured water is still maintained. See Hopkins, p. 453; Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Festivals, p. 212.

³ Cf. Ovington, p. 168: "Among the Bannians are reckon'd 24 casts, or sects, who both refrain from an indiscriminate mixture in marriages and from eating together in common "

ness of money. All in general that passes through their hands they stamp with a chop on, as a sign of good passable money. Some pieces you shall meet with above twenty different marks, which is as much as to say it hath gone through so many shroffs hands. In the shroffage¹ of money they are allowed one per cent, they standing good for all damages and sometimes gain two and a half or three per cent in the exchange of xeriphens into Surat or current rupees.

The coins current on this coast are gold Moors, halves and quarters, the St. Thomay, Venetians and Gubers; of silver, Rupees (divided as the Moor), Xeriphens, Fedee-piece and Lare; those of copper are the Pice and Ducannee; and of lead, Eray and Bugeruck.

The gold Moor is as large as a rupee and is stamp'd with Moors characters like unto it; it weighs seven penyweight, 2 grains and goes for [blank] rupees current².

The St. Thomay is a flat thin piece of gold, like the venetian or guber, having the effigy of that apostle; it is coin'd at Goa and is worth [blank] rupees or [blank] shillings English³.

Rupees there are various, of different marks and stamps. It weighs six penyweight, 19 grains, is in value 2s. 3d. or 2s. 6d. English⁴.

Xeriphens are likewise called Pirdows, being a Portugeze coin with a strong brass or copper alloy. On the one side is the arms royal of Portugal and on the other the Holy Cross. They are generally very much disfigured by the shroffs and look with another aspect, their intrinsick value being one shilling

¹ Usually, shroffage, money-dealer's commission. Here the term is used for testing of coins.

² The gold Mohur (Pers. *muhr*), the standard chief gold coin of British India. See Ovington, p. 132; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Mohur, Gold.

³ See Fryer, vol. II (p. 129 and note), who gives, under "Coins and Weights in Goa," the "Old St Thomas" and the "New St Thomas" with their values. The *San Thomé* was first coined by Garcia de Sa in 1548-9 (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Pardao) Venetian, a sequin. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Venetian; Fryer (vol. II, p. 130), who gives its value as identical with that of the Old St Thomas. The Guber was also some kind of ducat or sequin. Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Gubber) derives it from *dinār-i-gubr*.

⁴ The weight given by Burnell corresponds with that of "The Rupee of Bombaim" struck in 1677. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Rupee.

and six pence and weight seven peny [weight] and four grains¹.

The Fedee piece are of different value, as the six, eight and ten, being so called by the English because they contain just that number, tho' the fedee is an imaginary coin of three half-pence value. The ten fedee piece goes current for 14 ducanees and 4 bugerrucks, being mark'd like the xeriphen. By the Portugals it is called Tanga and by others Momuda, but both of these are of several sorts, as ten fades make a tang; so doth five. Likewise half a xeraphen is called a momuda, as is likewise the ten fadee tanga, and so is two larees. Five of these tangas make two xeriphens or three shillings sterling².

Larim in the Portugeze orthography, but pronounc'd by the English Laree, is a silver coin, value twelve ducanes or sixpence; at Goa the exchange goes for six fades, but at Bombay it is received in payment for eight. It is stamp'd with Moors characters and is made of xeraphen silver³.

The Surat Pice is a round lump of copper beat flat, with Moors characters, and is two farthings value; so is likewise the Ducany, agreeing with the pice both in exchange and

¹ Xeraphin, xeraphim, zeraphin (Ar. *ashrafi*), a silver coin of varying value, generally rather less than 1s. 6d. Pardao (Burnell's *pardow*) was the popular name among the Portuguese for a gold coin from the native mints of Western India. Its value was, as Burnell says, identical with that of the xeraphin. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Pardao and Xeraphine for exhaustive articles on these terms.

² Orme's copyist has misread Burnell's "fedee" and writes "tedee" in three instances in this paragraph, but as he also has "fades" and "fadee," the spelling has been altered consistently. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Fedee, Fuddee (Mahr. *p'hadyā*).

Burnell's reckoning in this paragraph is difficult to follow. If, as he says, the fedee was worth three halfpence, the ten-fedee piece should equal 30 "ducanees," since he valued the later coin at a halfpenny, but, as he notes, this was "of several sorts" and therefore of varying values. For tanga (Mahr. *tank*, Turkī *tanga*), see Fryer, vol. II, p. 130 n.; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tanga. For "momuda," more commonly "mamood-dee" (*mahmūdī*), see Mundy, vol. II, pp. 311, 349. The value of the *mahmūdī* also varied, but was somewhere round about a shilling.

³ Larim, spelt laree in the preceding paragraph, is the *lārī*, so named from Lar in Persia. Fryer, in his "Coins and Weights of Bombaim" (vol. II, p. 131) gives it the same value as Burnell. See also Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Larim. On 25 August 1709 one of the Company's "orts" was let, "by inch of candle" for "1 x. and $\frac{1}{2}$ a Lawree for each coconut tree bearing fruit" (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. II).

shape. Of these there are two sorts, one side bearing the Crown Royal and on the other this Latin sentence *Monet Bombay Angliae Regnis*, the other being stamp'd with the Company's arms¹.

Of leaden coins are the Eray and Bugeruck. The eray² is a small thin piece of lead mark'd with the Company's chop, seven of them going to a ducany³.

The Bugerook is half the eray, being mark'd like the former⁴.

Thus having treated on the different coins current, I shall remark something concerning the Brachmen and then conclude with an account at large of their religion, having already shewn their manner of worship.

The Brachmens, volgo [*vulgo*] Bramines⁵, are a peculiar cast by themselves and officiate in the priesthood. They are some of them well read in astronomy and physick, living a more mortifying and abstemious life than the rest of the Gentiles. Some there are that never enter into a conjugal state for fear of crushing to death some animals in their mutual embraces; neither will they very rarely speak, least they should kill some invisible creature which they affirm to float in the air and are not visible to us mortals. They sweep the place where they sit with a brush, least they should destroy some animals with sitting upon it, and to that end a cloth is

¹ See Mundy, vol. II, p. 311 and note for the Surat pice (*paisa*) and its varying value.

² Burnell's "cray" is the Port. *real*, pl. *reis*, a small money of account. In Fryer's day 80 "raies" went to a "laree" at Bombay, so the value had varied but slightly by 1710. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Rees; Fryer, vol. II, p. 131.

³ Burnell's "ducany," "ducanee" is the *do-kān* of Western and Southern India, an aliquot part of the tanka (*tanga*), that is, a piece of two *kānt* (*gānt*). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Bargany. I am indebted to Mr S. H. Hodivala for information leading to this identification. At a consultation held at Bombay Castle on 21 September 1722 information was received of "false ducanees discover'd in the bazaar" and a proclamation was ordered to be drawn up imposing penalties on all such 'coiner or coiners' guilty of issuing them" (*Bomb. Public Procs.* vol. v).

⁴ The bugeruck, Port. *bazarucko*, was a coin of low denomination and varying value and metal, being struck in copper, tin and spelter as well as lead. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Bugrook.

⁵ Burnell here again follows Ovington (pp. 195-6), who, in this matter, was incorrect, for he confuses Brāhmanas with Jains.

always fastened before their mouths to either ear to prevent all invisible volatile creatures approaching their breath, least it might prove fatal to them. They never wash, tho' it is enjoined them and is one of the greatest ceremonies in their worship, the reason being that they should certainly be the murderers of some small creature whom they affirm live in that element; nor will they drink cold water till it be boiled, they saying that till then it hath life in it, and the drinking thereof would destroy it. They neither cut their beards nor shave their heads, but notwithstanding all the pain of it, pluck the hair up by the roots as it grows on those parts of the body, and wholly careless for the future, and never anxious for the morrow, they take chearfully that happens each day, submitting [*sic*, ?subsisting] on what Providence sends them.

Of this cast are likewise the Jogues^t, being a kind of religious mendicants, who wander up and down like the Fathers of the Church of Rome, having no fixed or settled abode. Some of them walk the streets naked without any manner of shame; others fix themselves into several uneasy postures, some with their head flung backwards, with their eyes [blank] heaven, never turning their heads to look downwards, but continue in that posture all the remainder of their days; others with their arms stretch'd up perpendicular over their head, which in time the joints knit and they cannot bring them down to their natural position; some again with their arms brought round their necks, their hands grasping one another before the breast, with the palms turn'd outwards, their nails growing to a prodigious length. This posture distorts the shoulder bones and causes[s] insufferable pains. Others again make vows they will neither lie, sit, nor stand all the days of their life, but lean upon a rope brought down sloping from the arms of a tree (and fasten'd into the ground), very often with the head downward. In these different postures do the delirious penitents afflict themselves, thinking the greater the misery is they endure here on earth, the more

^t Jogis, Hindu ascetics. Burnell is evidently describing both Muhammadan and Hindu wandering mendicants and ascetics (*faqirs* and *jogis*). See Ovington, p. 210 (from whom he borrows); Tavernier, ed. Rose, vol. II, p. 152; Mundy, vol. II, p. 176; Fryer, vol. I, p. 257.

abundant will be the rewards of bliss they shall receive in heaven.

Other Jogues there are who let the hair grow to a great length, winding it round the head like a turban and rubbing their body over with ashes¹. One of these, while I was in Bombay, had taken up his residence in a small shed in the bazaar, it being about the time of sowing of rice, a small quantity of which he had got and sowed round him, leaving just room for him to seat himself, when he made a vow that he would not rise from that place nor change his posture till the grain was ripe, he being as good as his oath. I saw him sitting in the same posture and multitudes of people about him bringing what his wants required, as meat, drink and tobacco, they paying him great respect and esteeming him as a saint.

These Jogues, as well as most of the Gentiles in general, are much given to diabolical invocation, so that there are orders issued out by the General and Council to seize and imprison those that are taken in the act. It happened one night, whilst I was Commander in Dongarey Fort, that my serjeant going the rounds as usual, he brought with him at his return an old woman and two men whom he had taken in the act, with the rest of the appurtenances being bundled up in a cloth. It consisted of a live cock, rice, butter, salt, flowers, &c., with a drum and two small brass musical instruments. They could none of them stand, but were brought in upon mens backs and laid upon the floor in the guard room, having the strangest commotions in their body as is impossible to be described, their eyes rowl'd round in their heads, their teeth gnashed, and foam'd prodigiously at the mouth. They had not lain a quarter of an hour, but the woman rose in the greatest agony imaginable, flinging and tearing like a fury, that it was as much as ten men could do to hold her down and tie her, she snapping a couple of long matches² as if they had been threads. The fit lasted them upwards of two hours, when they were all still and quiet. Next morning I examined them, when they

¹ For "Ashmen," see Della Valle, ed. Grey, vol. 1, pp. 99, 105; Terry, p. 264; Fryer, vol. II, pp. 35, 38.

² Match is here used for match-cord or rope, i.e. a piece of rope compared as a slow match.

seriously confessed that all that time the devil did inhabit them and that they were set to work by a Moor woman to know whether she should poison her husband. I reported the matter to the General, who caused them to be whipp'd off the Island.

The cock that they use in sacrifice is not wholly destroy'd, but the comb lacerated, and the blood that comes out is offered; after which the animal is turned adrift, and if killed and eaten hath no manner of taste, as I have been informed, tho' I never experimented the relish, several of the cocks running up and down about the pagoda at Mazagon, where-with the palate of the curious may be satisfied, tho' the consequence is dangerous, as I have been told several have paid their lives for their presumption, coming to sudden and untimely ends.

BURNELL'S NARRATIVE OF HIS
ADVENTURES IN BENGAL

INTRODUCTION

THE unfinished narrative here printed is taken from the only available source, viz. a copy preserved in vol. ix (pp. 2159-74) of the *Orme Manuscripts* in the India Office Library. This collection of historical materials, made by Robert Orme during the latter part of the eighteenth century, frequently provides (as in the present instance) transcripts of documents which are no longer in existence. No hint is given of the quarter from whence Orme obtained the loan of the original; and evidently the name of the writer was not forthcoming, for Orme's amanuensis has headed the copy *The Adventures of a person unknown, who came to Calcutta in the government of Mr. Russel and went to the Moors then fighting at Hughley*.

The narrative was first brought to notice by Dr C. R. Wilson, who printed several extracts from it at the end of his *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. II, pt. I (1900), but failed to find any clue to its authorship. It was duly entered by Mr S. Charles Hill in his catalogue of the Orme Collection (published in 1916). He too made no guess at the authorship, though he noted that the narrative appeared "to be by a military man who had been cashiered at Madras." He pronounced it to be "not of much value, but very amusing."

The credit of detecting that it was in all probability the work of John Burnell (whose account of Bombay, likewise stated to be "by a person unknown," immediately precedes it in the Orme volume) belongs to Miss Anstey, who noticed the significance of the fact that Burnell was cashiered at Madras in May 1712 and that the author of the present narrative (who had certainly suffered that ignominy) arrived in Bengal in November of the same year. Other points of similarity were soon apparent. That Burnell was in Calcutta in February 1714 was already known from the extract from official records cited in Mr Sheppard's introduction; while in his account of Bombay (see p. 93 of the present volume)

Burnell himself not only refers to his having spent some time in Bengal but adds that he intends "to treat of that country." On the other hand the writer of the narrative here printed alludes (p. 134) to his having previously described some less obscure parts of India; and this, since we know of no other author of that date, may well be taken to refer to Burnell's account of Bombay. Further, in both productions the epistolary device is used, and used clumsily; and in both we find an insistence on points of military interest and a free use of military terms. No reasonable doubt remains, therefore, that both sections are by the same hand; and so the Bengal narrative has been included in the present volume under Burnell's name and with the full assurance that it is from his pen.

The narrative has already been printed (still as being by an author unknown) by Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., in vol. xxxvi, pt. II (October-December 1923) of *Bengal Past and Present*, the journal of the Calcutta Historical Society. That valuable magazine, however, has, it is to be feared, but a small circulation outside India, and publication in its pages is no argument against an endeavour to make a contribution more widely known. To this course Sir Evan Cotton willingly assented, and placed at the disposal of the Hakluyt Society the notes he had appended to his article, with full permission to vary or amplify them in any way. Some alteration was of course necessary when the narrative became a supplement rather than an independent work; and it has also been thought desirable to add a few notes on certain other points in the text.

We proceed now to examine the story itself. When Burnell was dismissed from the service at Madras in May 1712, he had necessarily to decide upon his future course of action. He could not remain indefinitely at Madras without employment, quite apart from the unpleasantness of his position as a disgraced servant of the Company. An obvious alternative was to go home by the first ship available; but it would seem that want of money put this out of the question. He resolved, therefore, to follow the example of his friend, Captain

Hercules Courtney, who in the like circumstances had proceeded to Bengal and taken service in one of the contending Indian armies. That Courtney was still there, and probably in a position to help his former associate, was of course an additional inducement.

There was to all appearance no lack of opportunity for a trained European soldier in the internecine wars then raging. The death of the Emperor Bahādur Shāh in February 1712 had been followed as usual by a contest for the throne by his four sons. After a short struggle the eldest, Jahāndār Shāh, emerged the victor. However, he was not left long unmolested, for his nephew, Prince Farrukhsīyar, declared himself Emperor and, thanks to the support of the powerful Sayyid brothers (Abdullah Khān and Husain Ali Khān), was soon at the head of a large army. To oppose him Jahāndār Shāh sent his son, Azz-ud-dīn. The contending forces met at Khajwa in November 1712, with the result that Azz-ud-dīn was defeated and fled to Agra. Jahāndār Shāh thereupon took the field in person; and in December a fierce battle took place at Agra. Victory crowned the banners of Farrukhsīyar, and his opponent fled to Delhi, where he was at once imprisoned by one of his officers, eager to curry favour with the conqueror. By the orders of Farrukhsīyar he was cruelly put to death; and in February 1713 his rival entered the capital in triumph, to reign for six years as the undisputed master of India.

Of course only the earlier stages of this civil war in Upper India could have been known to Burnell whilst still at Madras. But he must have been aware that, in addition to the larger struggle, hostilities were taking place in Bengal between the two factions; and prospects there were sufficiently promising to confirm him in his intention of endeavouring to sell his sword to one or other of the contestants. In what ship he sailed has not been ascertained; nor does he give any account of the voyage until it was nearing its end. It was probably not without excitement throughout, for there was a risk of capture by French privateers, since the war with France had not yet terminated. Whilst proceeding up the Hūgli estuary, the vessel ran aground on a sandy shelf and was

in imminent danger of overturning. However, she was pulled off into safety, and succeeded in reaching Calcutta without further trouble at the beginning of December 1712.

Without delay Burnell, after renewing relations with his friend Courtney, waited upon the President, Mr John Russell. That gentleman received him with courtesy, and deplored the fact that he was unable to offer him employment, for lack of a suitable vacancy. He suggested that his visitor's best course would be to proceed to England; but Burnell assured him in reply that he had not the money to pay his passage, adding that, "seeing I could not now go home to my friends handsomely, I was resolved to stay in India till I could, or necessity forced me to the contrary." Russell then expressed a hope that he would refrain from entering the service of the "Moors." To this Burnell's answer was that he saw no other means of earning a living, and so, since the Company would not provide for him he must "go to them that would."

Accordingly, after a stay in Calcutta of only four days, he proceeded by boat up the river to the Danish settlement at Gondalpārā. His friend Courtney (who had promised to follow him shortly) had given him letters of introduction to the Danish chief, and Burnell was received with much hospitality by that functionary. He next went to the Dutch factory at Chinsura, where he was equally well treated; and from thence he made his way to the camp of the "Emmer of Bengal" (i.e. Mīr Abū Tālib), to whom, on Courtney's advice, he intended to offer his services.

At this point it is necessary to pause and explain the origin of the hostilities in which Burnell proposed to take part. The death of Bahādur Shāh naturally caused unrest in many of the provinces, owing to uncertainty as to the outcome. This was particularly the case in Bengal, the virtual ruler of which was the Dīwān, Murshid Kuli Khān. On the death of the Emperor, Murshid Kuli proclaimed as his successor Azīm-ush-shān, the third son of Bahādur Shāh. But when that prince was defeated and killed, the astute Dīwān accepted the supremacy of Jahāndār Shāh; and later he refused to support the cause of Farrukhsīyar, though the latter was the son of

Azīm-ush-shān. Farrukhsīyar's partisans, however, found a rallying-centre elsewhere. Before the death of Bahādur Shāh, Murshid Kuli Khān had procured the dismissal of the Governor of Hūgli, Ziā-ud-dīn (Burnell's "Juda Con"), who was a personal enemy of his. To the vacant place a certain Wali Beg was appointed; but Ziā-ud-dīn refused to give way to him, collected forces, and later proclaimed himself an adherent of Farrukhsīyar. In July 1712 Wali Beg applied to the English at Calcutta to assist him against this rebel, but was told in reply "that, as we are merchants, we cant concern ourselves in their differences; but that we shall be willing to be mediators between them" (Wilson's *Annals*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 66). Neither side displayed any ardent desire to come to grips, and each in turn desired the English to negotiate an accommodation; but when two members of the Calcutta council proceeded to Hūgli for this purpose, they found Wali Beg unwilling to agree to any reasonable terms. A further effort, made by Russell himself and the same two gentlemen, proved equally unsuccessful. Meanwhile Murshid Kuli Khān, disgusted at Wali Beg's failure to subdue the rebels, sent Mir Abū Tālib, with fresh forces, to carry on the campaign. That officer, however, displayed no more energy than his predecessor. He begged the English to make one more effort. This they did, but found that the Mir required that his opponent should go to Murshidābād to wait upon the Dīwān; and this Ziā-ud-dīn naturally refused to do.

Thus matters stood when Burnell appeared upon the scene. The two armies were encamped between Chinsura and Chandernagore, apparently content to watch each other and wait for developments. On reaching the Mir's quarters, the Englishman was amazed to find himself in a disorderly rabble of soldiers, without any sign of discipline. He was warmly welcomed by their leader, who at once promised him the command of a hundred Europeans, with pay at the rate of 100 rupees per month. Abū Tālib's chief anxiety, however, seemed to be to secure the services of Burnell's friend, Courtney, whose prowess in the cause of Ziā-ud-dīn had evidently given him a great name locally; and he begged

Burnell to write and acquaint him that, if he were willing to assist the Mīr, a sum of 20,000 rupees should be his "when the wars were over." This Burnell promised to do; and thereupon he returned to his Dutch friends at Chinsura.

With them he stayed a fortnight, awaiting Courtney's reply. That, when it came, was disappointing. The English President had taken effectual steps to prevent Courtney from again interfering in the local hostilities, and thus his scheme for sharing his friend's adventures was frustrated. The latter now repaired to the Mīr with the unwelcome intelligence. Abū Tālib received him, as before, with a show of friendliness, confirmed his previous offer, and gave him an order to receive his men from the Augustinian padre of Bandel, who was in charge of all the European soldiers in the camp. That warlike ecclesiastic at first treated Burnell with enthusiastic civility, and together they drew up a plan of campaign against the opposing forces. A night's reflection, however, seems to have convinced the padre that the Englishman was likely to prove a dangerous rival; for, on joining him the next day, Burnell found him in the worst of humours. He utterly refused to make over any of his men; and when the written order of the Mīr was produced, "he said he cared not for it." The newcomer thereupon went to Abū Tālib to report the incident; but he was quickly followed by the padre himself, and a pretty quarrel ensued. The Mīr exerted himself to reconcile the disputants, and succeeded in pacifying them to some extent. Thereupon he provided the Englishman with a house and an abundant supply of food, and for a time Burnell "lived with great satisfaction."

No money, however, was forthcoming, nor was there any appearance of active employment. At last Abū Tālib, on being pressed, admitted that he had no authority over the padre, who had been directly commissioned by Murshid Kuli Khān as commander and paymaster of the European soldiery. He suggested that Burnell should recruit an independent supply, and promised to pay the men when found. This our adventurer endeavoured to do, but with small success. It is true that many of the padre's soldiers, especially the English-

men among them, offered to serve under Burnell; but he was too shrewd to accept their services, foreseeing that this would increase the padre's resentment. Nevertheless, the latter was deeply incensed by the popularity of his rival; and some of his adherents, meeting Burnell walking with a friend, assaulted and robbed him—an affront for which he vainly demanded satisfaction from their commander.

Further trouble followed. Having got together about thirty men, Burnell obtained from the Mīr an order upon the padre for their payment. As before, the latter refused to comply, and upon the Englishman going to his quarters to remonstrate, a quarrel ensued in which he ran considerable risk of losing his life at the hands of the padre's officers. He certainly lost his company; for most of his men, finding that they could only get pay by enlisting under the padre, decided to do so, and Burnell was left almost alone.

Our traveller now realised that the game was up. He was not prepared, however, to return to Calcutta without making a further effort; and on 11 January 1713 he set out up the river for Murshidābād. Of his intentions he tells us nothing; but possibly his object was to visit Murshid Kulī Khān himself, in the hope of obtaining employment from him. How he fared we do not learn, for at this point the fragment of narrative comes to a premature end. We may, however, conclude that, if his errand was as suggested, it proved fruitless, for obvious reasons. Soon after he started, the news reached Bengal that Jahāndār Shāh had been overthrown; and with the accession of Farrukhsiyar it became necessary for Murshid Kulī Khān to change his attitude and endeavour to ingratiate himself with the new sovereign. Mīr Abū Tālib, on learning the situation, stole away from his troops at night, and they thereupon quickly dispersed. Hostilities against Zīā-ud-dīn came perforce to an end; and that commander, elated at having backed the successful candidate for the throne, began to indulge hopes that he would be made Dīwān in Murshid's place. Farrukhsiyar, however, was well aware of the strong hold the latter had obtained over the province; and before long he not only confirmed him in his post, but

made him Deputy Governor of Bengal, with the charge in addition of the province of Orissa. Ziā-ud-dīn was compensated by being given charge of a district elsewhere.

We may conjecture that, matters having taken this turn and there being no prospect of further fighting, Burnell found no alternative but to return to Calcutta. There employment in the Company's service was even less likely than before, as in March 1713 a reduction in the strength of the garrison was determined upon, in view of the restoration of peace. At the beginning of December Russell, who had long been in bad health, resigned the post of President to Robert Hedges, and embarked for England. Possibly the new head was more friendly disposed to Burnell than his predecessor; and in any case it seems probable that some sympathy was felt in the small community for the position of an Englishman who, after filling posts of some dignity in other settlements, was now stranded at Calcutta entirely destitute of means or prospects. As already related in Mr Sheppard's introduction, in February 1714 an opportunity was found of helping him. A mission to the Mughal court had long been in contemplation, for the purpose of soliciting a confirmation and extension of the privileges enjoyed by the English at Calcutta; and now that Farrukhsīyar was firmly settled upon the throne, it was decided to delay no longer. This was of course the famous Surman embassy, the results of which placed the position of the English in Bengal upon a firm and lasting basis. To further the objects of the mission it was necessary to carry up to Delhi a number of articles as presents; and Burnell having constructed for this purpose a couple of "rounds," constituting a map of the world, these were purchased from him for the sum of 200 rupees; while in addition he was granted a free passage to England. Here, as already noted, all trace of him is lost.

Burnell's narrative, apart from the interest of his personal adventures, has several features of value, especially his descriptions of the Danish and Dutch settlements, and of Hūgli, with its suburb of Bandel. It is regrettable that he did not deal similarly with Calcutta, for such an account would

have formed a useful supplement to the meagre description vouchsafed by Alexander Hamilton, who was there a few years before Burnell. Still more do we regret the loss of his narrative of the rest of his experiences in Bengal, which must have been both entertaining and instructive. We must, however, content ourselves with what has survived. Read in connection with his account of Bombay, it inspires a certain respect for him, despite the disgrace into which he fell (no doubt deservedly) at Madras. That he was a man of courage and of a decided character is evident; while he appears to have been genuinely interested in his profession and an acute observer, besides possessing no mean amount of mechanical skill. Of his two great faults—intemperance and a disposition to quarrel—the former was a common vice of the age, especially among military men with ample time on their hands; and the latter defect will not be judged too harshly by anyone who knows the touchiness that is apt to develop at a small station in a tropical climate, especially in a community that insisted much upon rank and precedence.

W. F.

BURNELL'S ADVENTURES IN BENGAL

*Account of the passage of the ship up the
river to Calcutta, 1712*

THE 26th [November 1712]. Being clear, we had sight of the low land and the pap of Banja¹, making in two round hommocks of no extraordinary altitude, bearing N. At 12 had sight of a porger² standing over the Braces³ to the westward, but came to an anchor on the latter end of the ebb.

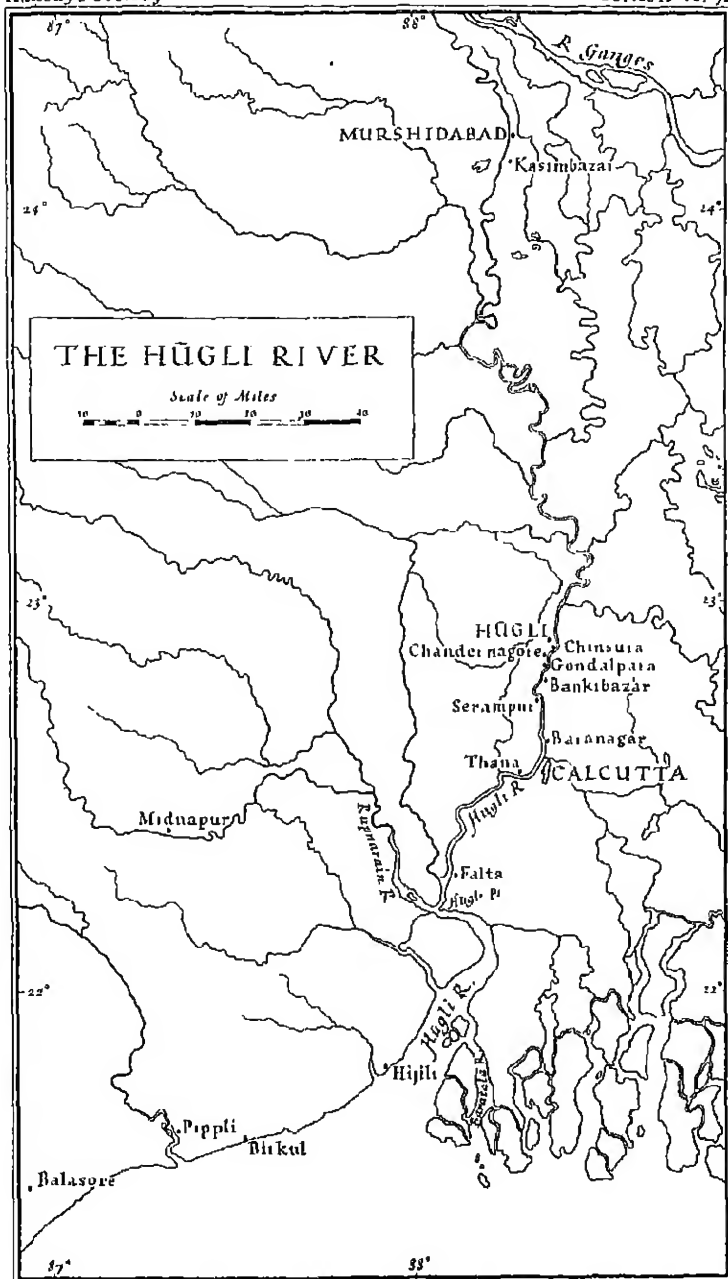
At 2 we weighed with the tide of flood and wind at S.W.b.S., steering N. and N.b.E. and N.E., little or no wind which obliged us to get the long boat ahead and give her a tow; our water we deepen'd to $3\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4. At nine we anchored in the Little Swatch⁴ in $4\frac{1}{2}$. We saw several fishing boats on the Brace, to the number of 25 or 30. The winds hung so much in the north-eastern quarter that compell'd us to desist from

¹ The "Paps of Banja" are shown in Thornton's Chart of 1703 (re-produced in *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, feg. p. ccxx) as lying on the left-hand shore, just above the river "Bitecool" (Birkul creek).

² Also spelt purgo or purgoo. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Porgo, for the derivation of the term, and Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 228, for an illustration of the boat and remarks on its construction.

³ The Braces, Eastern and Western, are defined by John Ritchie in his MS. *Remarks upon the Coast and Bay of Bengal* (p. 16) as "two hard flats lying to the southward of the Bearcool shore and extending a great way to seaward. They are detached from the land by a very tolerable channel of three fathoms water, or more, and they separate Ballasore Road from the entrance of Hugly River." They appear in Thornton's Chart.

⁴ Thornton's Chart does not show the Swatch unless it be indicated as "The Little Bason" and "The Great Bason." It is thus described by Ritchie in his *Remarks* (p. 41): "In the bank which lies along the coast of Bengal there is a great pit or cavity, known to commanders of country ships by the name of the Swatch. It is unfathomable according to the usual practice of soundings, for no one has yet found ground in it. Its form and extent is not well known, but its situation is south, a little easterly from Roymungull entrance." See also "Recent changes in the Delta of the Ganges" (*Journ. of the Geol. Soc.* August 1863) by Dr J. Ferguson.



passing over the other Brace¹, being forc'd to take our passage to the northward through the Junery Channel².

Friday the 28th were abreast of the Barrabullas³, the land being low and even, with some trees scattering, to the northward of which is the opening of Ingaley River, being bounded on the opposite side by an island of the same name⁴: the opening is indifferent⁵ broad, and a good channel up to the town.

We keep turning up with the flood, the wind being at N. and by eight were abreast of the buoy on the Barrabulla head. We shot up still to the northward, and at 9 came to an anchor off the Long Wood⁶ on Ingaley Island in 5 fathom, having the buoy on the Middle Ground⁷ in sight, bearing N.E. by E. two leagues.

The wind standing still at N., at 4 post meridian we weighed, but were hardly under sail ere we made a ship at an anchor, being N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. distant two leagues; by 5 were abreast of Kedgery River⁸. It appears indifferent broad, with two low points at its entrance, *vizt.* Ingaley and Kedgerrey Islands. When you have brought this point to bear N E., then you are out of the buoy on the Long Sand⁹ in 5 and 6 fathom water.

¹ The Eastern or Inner Brace

² This name is not to be found in Thornton's Chart nor is it mentioned by Ritchie.

³ These sands are not shown on the modern Survey Map. They appear in Thomas Bowrey's Chart of the Hugli, c. 1676, and are marked on Thornton's Chart. John Ritchie in his *Remarks* thus describes them: "Barrabulla is a sand which forms the west side of the Fairway (I mean the Little Fairway or common tract). It begins about 3 leagues S.b.W. from the Pagoda of Hidgellie and extends S S W about 10 miles. The north end is called the Head and the south end the Tail of the Barrabulla."

⁴ Ingaley is the modern Hujli in Midnapur District. The name is spelt Higilee on Bowrey's Chart and it appears as Kedegellie river and Kedgelie island on Thornton's Chart.

⁵ Indifferent, signifying fairly (rather, unremarkable), is a favourite word with Burnell.

⁶ The "Long Wood" is marked on Thornton's Chart at the entrance of the Kedegellie (Rāsupur) river.

⁷ This (the Mizen, or Middle Ground) remains as the Mizen on some modern charts, and in some older ones (of French origin presumably) as the Artimon (Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. ccvi).

⁸ The modern Khujari. See Yule, *op. cit.*, p. ccviii.

⁹ Long Sand is marked on Thornton's Chart to the north-east of the Eastern Brace. John Ritchie, in his *Remarks*, observes: "The best and only clear channel into Hugly River lies between Gasper and the Long Sand. It goes from Kidgerrey Road directly out to sea without interruption."

Off the mouth of this river lieth Cuckolley sand¹, about two miles in length. It appears dry at low water, between which and Ingaley Island is a good channel in 5 and 6 fathom water.

By eight we were up with the ship and making about an hour's sail more to the northward, when we anchored in 4 fathoms. We sent our boat on board her, as did they likewise a willock² to us; she proved an Armenian, by name *St Pedro*³, bound to Fort St George. Cojey Surratt⁴, a merchant and prime factor of that nation resident in Calcutta, paid us a visit in the aforesaid willock and brought with him his musick consisting of a Georgian violin⁵, two small kettle drums and the like number of hautboys with which he entertained us. The instruments were costly and of curious workmanship. To the violin the drums were added in concert, assisted with the voice of the musicians, whose ill tun'd notes and imperfect cadence made most lamentable discord.

When they had sufficiently persecuted our ears with this melodious piece of concise⁶ harmony, the hautboys went to

¹ The Cuckolee of Bowrey's Chart and the Coucolly of Thornton's, later known as Cowcolly (Geonkhālī) or Kaulkhālī, where there is a disused lighthouse (*Bay of Bengal Pilot*, p. 218)

² *Ulāk*, a cargo-boat. See Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 227, 228, Colesworthy Grant, *Rural Life in Bengal*, p. 29; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Woolock.

³ There is no record of the arrival of the *St Pedro* at Fort St George, but the *Diary* of 9 March 1712/13 records her departure for Bengal

⁴ This was Khwāja Isrā'īl Sarhād, destined to play a prominent part in the Embassy to the Emperor Farrukhsyār in 1715-17. For his proceedings as interpreter at the Mughal Court, see C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, vol. II, pt. II, *The Surman Embassy*

⁵ On Burnell's Georgian violin Mr Gerald Hayes writes: "It may be assumed that this definition was supplied by the Armenian merchant. It is difficult to ascertain the precise nature of the instrument at that period. The Georgian word used today for the violin, *Dehianuri*, occurs in the contemporary dictionary of Orbeliani: the word itself means, in Georgian, a bow. But a recent Georgian scholar has pointed out that a 'national' as well as a 'foreign' form of the *Dehianuri* existed. The latter corresponded to the Arabian *Kemengeh*, from which the former differed, but exactly in what details is not clear. A modern Russian-Georgian dictionary gives as one of the equivalents of 'Gusle' (the national bowed instrument of Russia) the word *Athdzali* which is, literally 'ten-stringed.' This suggests a use of sympathetic strings, a common feature in the East, but hardly known in Europe since the disuse of the *viola d'amore*."

⁶ Burnell seems to be using "concise" in its obsolete meaning of "mangled, mutilated."

work, one running up to the pitch of double gamut whilst the other served as a drone¹, they playing upon them with such vehemency and force, which beating upon the drum of my ear so benumm'd my senses that I could hear nothing [less] than the discharge of a demi-culverin. They kept us up pretty late, and about 2 in the morning returned aboard their ship in order to proceed on their voyage.

Saturday the 29th of November. We weigh'd with the morning flood, and stood thwart the river E.b.N. on the back of the Gillingam², in $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathom and $4\frac{1}{2}$, leaving the buoy on our starboard. By seven came up with Channel Creek or Jesora River³. It hath a wide open mouth, being a good channel down to Chittygong⁴, the shores on each side being a wilderness of trees; on its northern shore is a strong rippling, which, whether occasion'd by a shelf or the meeting of two tides I am not certain. Here we pass'd two sloops at anchor, the one a Dutch, the other French.

We turned up the channel, having from eight fathom to two and a foot till we came the length of Rangafulla⁵, where at eleven we came to an anchor, the flood being spent. Here we found lying the *Mary* and *Darby*⁶, two Company's ships bound for Europe.

¹ That is, as bass, the tone emitted by the drone or bass-pipe of a bag-pipe

² Gillingam Sand or Grand Midle Ground is marked in Thornton's Chart to the west of Channel Creek. Bowrey, in his Chart, spells the word Gillinga, which supports Yule's surmise (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. cccv) that it may be a corruption "of some native name like Jilinga." The term survived, at any rate, until 1767, where Gillingam Point appears in a *Draught of Hugley River* by Alexr. Stuart

³ Now known as Channel creek or Baratala river (*Bengal Pilot*, p. 227). Ritchie in his *Remarks* tells us that "the country name of Channell Creek is Barratulla "

⁴ Chittagong, a port in Eastern Bengal.

⁵ A creek either near or identical with the Rangafulla Creek of modern charts. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. ccviii. In Stuart's *Draught* it appears as Rankafulla.

⁶ The *Mary*, Captain Richard Hoiden, and the *Derby*, Captain Thomas Wotton, had sailed from England for Madras and Bengal, the former at the end of the year 1711 and the latter at the end of the year 1710. Both ships were despatched from "Coxes" (Cox's or Cocks' Island, since merged into Sâgur Island) on 14 December 1712 and they reached England in August 1713 (*Bengal Public Procs.* vol. II; *Marine Records*, Logs, 653 A, 261 A).

The tide coming in, at seven we weighed and shot up to the northward to pass the narrows of Gillingam; but when we came the length of Rangafulla river, the meeting of the two tides shot us full ashore on the northern point. It proved a steep bank, we having 4 fathom on our larboard side and but two feet in the main chains of our starboard. We were now got into the woods, the trees hanging as thick within board and over our heads as if we were in an harbour; one great tree more especially under our keel about midships, on which she sat.

We were now in hurry and confusion, fearing as the tide fell she would overset, she heeling pretty well to port. We got out long spars of wood to fend her off; but it would not do, she having the shore so close aboard that you might have stepp'd on shore without so much as being wetshod.

When the hurry was pretty well over, the captain advised to fire guns as in distress, that the *Mary* and *Darby's* boats might come to our assistance, they lying within hear[ing]; but the pilot was for heaving her off ourselves, and having the advantage of a fine moonlight night we got our stream anchor and cable into the long boat, and carried it out on our quarter, and having well mann'd the capstern, soon hove her off.

The river is large and navigable, boats going down by this stream to Chitigong as well as by the former¹, it flowing from the sea upwards. We presently shot clear up the channel till about 9, when we past the *Kent*² lying at an anchor off Roages River³, and half an hour after anchored in 7 fathom water. Next morning at six came to sail, working up the channel on the starboard side of the Diamond Sand⁴ in 8, 10, 12 and 13 fathom water; then shoaling to 4 and 5, we pass'd Cuckold's

¹ Burnell seems to be referring to the channel on the other side of the Gillingam Sands

² The *Kent*, a Company's ship, Captain Lawrence Minter, had arrived at Balasore on 30 September 1712 (*Bengal Public Procs.* vol. II).

³ For Rogue's River (which is R. Theves in Thornton's Chart) and its possible identification, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Rogue's River; Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 199 n. 2, 209 n. 2, 212 n. 2, Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. ccviii.

⁴ A shoal on the western side of the modern Diamond Harbour. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Diamond Harbour. The name now indicates a sand (Lat. 22° 11' N.) on the right bank of the Hùgli, below Diamond Harbour (*Bengal Pilot*, p. 226).

Point¹, and by 12 were up with the Danes town², a few scattering hovels; then past Tomberlee, lying on the south side of a river of that name³, by other Ganges⁴, opposite to which lieth Hughley Point⁵, and in the fareway a sand called the James and Mary⁶, of which ships ought to be careful.

Thus having pass'd the most remarkable dangers of which care ought to be taken to avoid them, we continued tiding it up, nothing of note occurring till we came the length of Tana⁷, a great town on the larboard side of the river, having for its defence a large brick fort to the river, with four round bulwarks, through the embrasures of which look'd 4 or 5 iron culverins, tho' what store of guns they have to the land board I am not certain.

On the north bounds of the castle stands the chocky⁸, circumvolving of which they had flung up an intrenchment, and on the opposite side of the river lay the ruins of a battery flung up by a Gentew Raga⁹, in order to demolish the castle

¹ Cuckold's Point, marked on Thornton's Chart, appears on Bowrey's Chart as Diamond Point. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. ccviii, ccix, for a note on the term.

² This insignificant settlement is referred to by Alexander Hamilton. See Argonaut edition, vol. II, p. 4 and Sir Wm. Foster's note.

³ For Tomberlee, now known as the Rupnarain River, see Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. ccix-ccx and note.

⁴ Hamilton, vol. II, p. 4, calls it Ganga and it is shown on Stuart's Draught as Ganges River.

⁵ Hughley River Point is shown on Thornton's Chart opposite Tomberlee Point, now known as Mornington Point.

⁶ The James and Mary, a sandbank at the junction of the Hūgli and Rupnarain rivers, received its name from the wreck of the Company's ship the *Royal James and Mary* on that spot in September 1694. See Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 172 n. 2, Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. cciv, ccx; *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. xxvi, pp. 83-91.

⁷ Thāna Fort was a Muhammadan outpost on the western shore, built to protect the trade of the river, and also, says Streynsham Master (*Diaries*, vol. II, p. 66), to "prevent the incursions of the Arracaners." It was of brickwork and there was a mud fort on the opposite bank (Ives, *A Voyage from England to India*, p. 101). In Rennell's map it is shown as lying 3½ miles below the modern Fort William and may be located just above the site of the house of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens. According to Sir George King, there was a small creek here, running inland towards the great banyan tree, which even in these early days had attained a considerable size. Thāna Fort was taken by Job Charnock in 1687 and destroyed by Clive and Watson on 1 January 1757.

⁸ Hind. *chauki*, a customs station.

⁹ A Hindu Rāja.

in the Bengallian War, when the fort was taken from the Moors by an English agent, whose name I have forgot, tho' after restored to them when the peace was concluded¹.

Having passed this piece of defence, with a fine easy gale, near two leagues, we opened Calcutta, our desired port, it gratifying us with a most agreeable prospect, which when we were come its length, we dropt anchor before the fort, saluting the garrison with 7 guns, who returned us the like compliment.

Some account of Calcutta. Mr Russel Governor

Letter the []

Sir

In this from Bengal you may expect to receive something new altogether, having had the opportunity of penetrating the more obscurer parts of India than what I have hitherto treated on, those being the common road of which great numbers of my countrymen have already publish'd different observations.

I shall not here enter into a description of the remarkables in Calcutta, seeing my abode of 4 days there hath not furnish'd me with a sufficient supply, but shall only inform you, on my arrival I paid my respects to the Governor (John Russel, Esqr.²) to tender him an offer of my service, which he told me he would take into his consideration; upon which taking my leave I repaired to my brother officers of the military, who entertained me with abundance of civility. Among them was my good friend Captain Hercules Courtney³, a gentleman that had been very serviceable to the Company in the wars at Fort St David, but had run through the same misfortune as

¹ The "English agent, whose name I have forgot" was Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta. For an account of hostilities and negotiations between the English and Shāista Khān, Nawāb of Bengal, in 1686-7 (which Burnell calls the "Bengallian War"), see Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, vol. 1, pp. 91-111.

² John Russell, President and Governor of Fort William, Calcutta, 1711-1713, entered the Company's service in 1693. He died in 1735. For an account of his family and career, see Appendix I.

³ For the story of Hercules Courtney, compiled from MS. records, see Appendix II.

myself, being cashier'd a little, before me at Madderas¹. He coming hither for employ, but meeting with disappointments, laid hold of the opportunity of going up to Hugley, where the Moors were embroiled in a war². He entering into the service of Juda Con³, managed the face of affairs so well that it much enlarged his credit, receiving from the Nabob several rich presents for his good service, tho' not so much as was before promis'd him; upon which in a disgust he left them, and was but lately arrived at Calcutta.

Three days being expired, I went to know his Honours mind, who ingenuously told me he had no vacancy, all his commissions being full, otherwise he would give me service, but advised me to go home on board one of the Europe ships. I answered I had not a hundred pagodas to pay for my passage, and seeing I could not now go home to my friends handsomely, I was resolved to stay in India till I could, or necessity forced me to the contrary. So would have taken my leave of the Governor; but he calling me back, would oblige me, seeing he had not service for me, to give him my word of honour I would not take up service under the Moors. I answered I might as well give him the same that I would receive no sustenance for a twelvemonth, for seeing, as in duty bound, I had first made proffers of service to my country, which they not accepting, I held myself no longer obliged, but was at my free liberty to go take service where I pleased, so that those whom I served were no enemies to my King and country. He replied, all this is reasonable, but then these nations among whom we dwell, being ignorant of the law of arms, and the recourse of Englishmen to side with either party might be detrimental to the Company's affairs. I returned his Honour was only capable of remedying the ills that might thereby accrue, and that to sustain this mortal body bread was required, which if the Company would not give me, I should (with his Honour's leave) go to them that would; so accord-

¹ See Mr Sheppard's Introduction to Burnell's Account of Bombay.

² For an account of the struggle for the Crown of India at this period, see the Introduction to this part of the volume.

³ Zia-ud-din Khān, Governor of Hūgli, for whom see the Introduction. In contemporary English records he appears as "Zoody Cawn."

ingly, taking my leave, I went to inform Captain Courtany of my success, who advised me by all means to go up to Hugley and take service under the Emmet of Bengal¹, giving me his word, if nothing of consequence interposed, he would be soon up after me. We passed the time with various discourse upon that subject and at parting he gave me letters to Monsure Attrope², Governor of the Danes factory at Gundullparra³, who he told me was his friend.

Of the Danes Factory at Gundullparra

I hired a willock⁴ that evening, and taking with me my effects, proceeded on my voyage. By sunseting we got the length of Barnagur⁵ and by nine arrived at Gundullparra. I sent my servant to desire admittance, who soon after returned with some others belonging to the factory, informing me the Governor was up and desired my company, they accordingly conducting me upstairs into a large spacious chamber, where the Governor received me very civilly. I delivered him my letters, which he reading, soon made way for a discourse concerning the wars of Hugley. He expressed abundance of friendship to me on Captain Cortney's account, but it being pretty late we retired to our repose.

¹ Mir Abū Talib, for whom see the Introduction.

² The only references to Rasmus Hansen Attrup, "Chief for Affairs of the Royall Company of Denmark," that have been found in the E I Co.'s records, are contained in consultations at Fort William on 17 and 21 December 1714, when President Hedges offered his services to mediate a peace between the Danes and the local government at Hūgli. The letters which passed on this occasion are printed by Wilson (*Early Annals of Bengal*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 200-202).

³ The actual date of the settlement of the Danes at Gondalpārā, on the Hūgli, in the south-east of the present French territory at Chandernagore, is uncertain, but a factory was established there by Wolff Ravn in 1710. In the following year he was displaced by Rasmus Hansen Attrup, who came into conflict with the local governor and was compelled to abandon the factory early in 1715. A trace of the settlement still remains in the name Dinemardanga (the land of the Danes), given to a part of Gondalpārā. See Kay Larsen, *De Dansk-Ostendiske Koloniers Historie*, pt. II, pp. 26-27; *Bengal Dist. Gaz. Hooghly*, p. 75; Hamilton, vol. II, pp. 11, 174.

⁴ See note 2 on p. 130.

⁵ Baranagar, about a mile north of Calcutta. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. ccxvi; Hamilton, vol. II, pp. 11, 174.

The next morning, getting up pretty early, I had the opportunity of viewing the factory, which is a pretty neat and compact pile of buildings, built fronting the river at a bow shot distance. On its banks are lin'd down a tier of iron culverins and sakers¹ for salutes, twenty or five and twenty in number, lying on the right hand of the landing place as you ascend the stupedety² of the bank; from whence to the house is a fine walk underneath the umbarge [umbrage] of shady trees row'd on each side at equal distances; you enter the gate (which is large and spacious, maintaining always a small guard) into a fine square court, the factory house taking up the western side, the other three being run round with lodging rooms and warehouses fares [*sic*] on the top and considerably lower than the western building, the yard being divided into squares by a cross walk in the left hand. In your egress from the gate standeth the flag staff, whereon is hoisted the standard of Denmark.

On the back side of the factory, which consists but of two stouies, is a pretty large garden, indifferently handsome, abounding in sallading and sweet herbs, beans, pease and turnips; neither is it wanting in flowers, of which it hath variety. It is likewise adorned with a fine shady walk and a noble large fishpond full of excellent fish, which swim in shoals upon the surface of the water. There is likewise a small sort of a bastion built at the N.W. corner of the garden, looking to Gondullparra, tho' it hath no guns mounted thereon.

Having thus taken a view of the factory, I return'd to the Governor, who I found was just risen. We passed the morning away in a very affable manner (he being a man of excellent parts, to a degree civil and courteous to strangers), and when dinner was ready we sat down to a plentiful table, in which shone the ancient hospitality of our English nobility, who

¹ Culverin (It. *colubra*) was a large cannon, very long in proportion to its bore. Names of reptiles were frequently applied to early cannon.

A saker (large lanner falcon: cf. falconet, musket) was smaller than a demi-culverin and was formerly much used in sieges and on ships.

² Instead of using the obsolete form "steepiness," Burnell seems to have coined the word "steepedety" and his copyist has read his "ce" as "u."

certainly received it from the Danes; no fantastical kickshaws borrowed from our neighbours the French, but good hearty feeding, cleanly dressed and well cook'd, and to wash down all a cup of old Lubeck beer to crown our felicity and welfare, that I may truly say I never eat a meal with a better gust or with more satisfaction in my life.

Having returned the Governor my most humble thanks for the favours he had conferred upon me, he was pleased to give me two letters recommendatory (the one for the Emmer of Bengal, the other to Mynheer Hoffmaster the second of the Dutch factory at Chinsura)¹. I took my leave of him and embarked in my boat, passing by a small ship and yacht belonging to the Danes, and by three in the afternoon was got the length of Chandernagur, the French factory², being distant from Gundullparra about a mile and quarter; the town is large and uniform, adorned with great numbers of good edifices, as is likewise the factory, which makes an agreeable prospect to the river.

We were now obliged to hawl over and keep the starboard shore on board for fear of the enemy, being got within gunshot of them, the Emmer of Bengal having three or four batteries on the starboard, as had likewise the Nabob Juda Con, who was block'd up in Chandernagur on the larboard side of the river.

Disturbances at Hughley amongst the Moors

And here it will not be amiss to say something of the rise of this war, as likewise of its briad³ which had an end whilst I was up at Moxudbath⁴, of which hereafter.

¹ No other reference to Hoffmaster has been found and he is not mentioned by Valentyn. For the history of the Dutch Factory at Chinsura, the present headquarters of Burdwan Division, see *Bengal Dist. Gaz. Hooghly*, p. 57.

² Chandernagore, where the French settled at the end of the seventeenth century. For the history of the Factory see *Bengal Dist. Gaz. Hooghly*, p. 81.

³ This word may be a copyist's error for "breach," a term, now obsolete, signifying an assault or attack. In that case the sense here would be "the actions in the campaign."

⁴ Maksudābād, the earlier name of Murshidābād. Murshid Kuli Khān moved the seat of government thither at the beginning of the eighteenth

Shallum¹ the Emperor from a meaner station advanced [], who from Gentilism embraced Mahometism, to the government of Bengal, creating him Annabob or Vice Roy thereof, changing his name (it being a mark of high honour) to that of Mursed Cola Con², but the death of Shawlam happening whilst he was in the government, the King's children broke out into an open war for the Crown. Mursed Cola Con sided with Mosidean³ the eldest, and whilst they managed the war in Industan, he sends for Juda Con, Nabob of Ballasore and Governor of Hugley, to bring in his rents received as part of the King's revenues, that he might make his accounts up to the King, seeing he could not tell that [?what] money was brought in.

Upon which Juda Con goes to the Annabob at Moxudbath and takes along with him Kingcaison⁴, his banian or rent gatherer, informing him that they would deliver in no money till there was a new king establish'd. Others will have it that the Annabob offering a daughter in marriage to Juda Con, he refused the proposals, because the Annabob had been a servant under his father⁵. But be it how it will, he was scarce got down to Hugley, ere Holy Beg⁶ was sent down to take from him his government and to declare war, upon which Juda Con fortifies himself on the north boundaries of Chandurnagur, flinging up several batteries to the river ward and land board, mounting thereon between 50 and 60 guns, mostly between sixteen and eighteen pounders.

century, and in 1704 renamed the city after himself. The old form, however, lingered for many years after that date

¹ Shāh Alam or Bahādur Shāh (Prince Mu'azzam), Mughal Emperor 1707-1712.

² This is a confused statement. According to one account, Murshid Kulī Khān was the son of a poor Brāhman, but was adopted by a merchant of Isfahān and converted to Islām. After his rise to power, he was given the title of Jafar Khān, but he was not nominated Viceroy. "Annabob" is *al-Nawāb*, i.e. the Governor

³ Mu'izu-d-Dīn, eldest son of Shāh Alam, who took the title of Jahāndār Shāh on succeeding to the throne in 1712. For Murshid's relations with him see the Introduction.

⁴ Not identifiable under this disguise. ? Kinkar Sen.

⁵ For Ziā-ud-dīn's family, see Wilson, vol. II, pt. I, p. xxxi.

⁶ Walī Beg.

Collbeg Con¹, the elder brother of Holy Beg, being general of the horse, marches into the field, and encamps to the westward of Chandarnagur, blocking up that side, and sends another strong detachment to the other side of the river to lie in those batteries; Holy Beg keeping in the castle at Hugley. The batteries that were flung up to dismount the artillery on those Juda Con had raised, were taken from them by Captain Courtney, he driving them the same time into the castle, upon the news of which Mursed Cola Con recalls Holy Beg from his command, and sends down the Emmer of Bengal to carry on the war.

The Emmer being come to his command with 1000 horse and 6000 foot, encamps before Chandernagur, giving (tho' I believe by the Hanabob's order) all the European soldiers into the charge of a rascally padre of the Augustin order; of which more hereafter. He lay before it a considerable time, but did nothing, having several misfortunes attending him, as a mutiny among his men, three hundred horse going from him together; but upon the promise of two months pay advance they came back. He lay about two months longer before it, when the confirmation came of Forixears [Farrukh-siyar's] being King. He took the opportunity of a dark night, accompanied with two others in the habit of Fuckears [*fakirs*] (i.e. country beggars), and secretly departed from the army, who in the morning finding their general gone, disbanded; and thus far as to the war of Hugley.

To return; being come to the Chinchury², I landed and went to Mynheer Hoffmaster, who was extreme civil, desiring me to make use of his house as my house, till such time as I was settled, and very obligingly ordered his palankeen to carry me to the Emmer of Bengal, it being a league to the place where he lay encamp'd.

When I came into the camp I was strangely surprised to see in what confusion they had pitched their tents, being quite

¹ ? Kuli Beg Khān. This brother of Wali Beg is mentioned by Wilson (*Early Annals*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 82), but his name is not given.

² Hamilton in like manner (vol. II, p. 11) terms Chinsura "'the' Chinchura."

destitute of form and order, without any respect or precedence in persons, the general[s] being near the center of the camp, with a large markees¹ round it. In the front were advanc'd five or six standards of a triangular form, some azure, others argent, charged with a ball gules; in this manner were they encamped, horse and foot confused together, without any marshalling or discipline among them.

Being arrived at the generals tent, I alighted, and after making myself slipshod², conforming to the custom of the country, I was conducted to the Emmer, who I found sitting cross legged smoking his hubble bubble³, and round him a great number of officers. I paid him my salam and having seated myself, delivered my packet, which he having read, he *got up and sent for me to discourse the matter privately*. He asked me when Captain Courtney would come up. I answered I believed in 4 or 5 days. He bad me write and assure him of twenty thousand rupees when the wars were over, the one half to be deposited in the hands of Monseer Attroop, and the other in the hands of Mynheer Hoffmaster. As to my business, he proffered me the command of one hundred Europeans, and one hundred rupees per month; after which, treating me with some very good Madeira wine in a China sneaker⁴, which surprised me, knowing it is forbidden in their law and by most Moors held as an abomination; but I supposed the Dutch imposed it upon them, or else design'd it a present for the general, to solace himself with in private when freed from the censorious remarks of the more stricter sort of Musselmen

Having taken leave, I departed to the Chinchura, where at my arrival I found my new friend Hoffmaster with some more Dutch gentlemen at supper. He kindly chid me for staying so long, and after I had excused myself, I sat down and joined the society. After supper we settled to drinking and smoaking, having variety of wines to intice the appetite, at which excess

¹ "Marquise" is an old form of "marquee," a large tent (or here perhaps an enclosure surrounded by screens).

² Meaning that he put on slippers.

³ *Hooka*. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Hubble-bubble.

⁴ A large cup with a saucer and cover. For the origin of the term and examples of its use, see the *O E D* and Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Sneaker.

we continued till it was pretty late; then the guests breaking up, I was lighted to my repose.

I stay'd at Mynheer Hoffmaster the space of a fortnight, being very civilly intreated, in which time I wrote to Captain Courtney and received letters from him, wherein he informed me of the troubles he was in at Calcutta, the governor designing to impede his voyage up by sending him to Madarass¹ least he should come to the assistance of the Emmer of Bengal, which as I afterwards heard he effected.

Having taken leave of my friend, I went wholly to the Emmer of Bengal, who gave me an order to go and receive my men from the padre on the morrow, who hearing of my being in the camp, sent his palankeen and his servant, desiring me to come and take up my quarters with him, where he had provided a chamber for me, assuring me how proud he would be to serve me. I could not withstand all this civility (tho' I had been pretty well informed of the villanous actions committed by the ecclesiasticks of the Church of Rome), but went into the palankeen and was carried to the convent, where the father stood ready to receive me in a square taris [terrace] yaid before the door of the priory. I paid him my respects due to his holy function, who returned my compliment with abundance of civility. We entered the church hand in hand into the father's apartment, and down we sat to solace ourselves with a bottle. The wine being come and he desiring me to be free, telling me every thing I saw there was my own, we began to discourse of affairs. At every word it was brother captain and brother captain, he desiring me not to remember his spiritual function till such time as I saw him administer at the High Altar, solemnly protesting he would be himself in the [? meantime]; then sending for his sword and blunderbuss, he shewed me his weapons of offence.

The wine not proving extraordinary, being thick and muddy, to oblige so dear a friend as I was, he sent for a case bottle² of

¹ See Appendix II for Courtney's imprisonment at Madras, the partial freedom subsequently allowed him and his consequent probable escape to Calcutta.

² Case-bottle is defined in the *O.E.D.* as "a bottle, often square, made to fit into a case with others; a bottle protected by a case."

that which was better, telling me it was the holy wine with which he administered the Sacrament, of which we drank plentifully, and in it the father drank damnation to the enemy; but I, having a little more grace than the bishop, would not pledge it, which another Portuguese captain did very cordially, saying they were Mahometans and therefore deserved to be damned. The priest then drank a health to St George, and to return the compliment I drank another to St Augustin, which so obliged the father, who was of that Order, that he would needs prove them akin to one another, and at last did conclude and really believe them to be cousin germans.

Then was brought out a draught of Juda Con's batteries, taken upon the place by another holy father in disguise, and we then entered into a close consultation about storming them. At last it was agreed between us that [the] father should march down to the Chunchera, and so along the river side at the head of two hundred men, and storm two batteries, the one of six, the other four guns, and I to march with a hundred and fifty men against Molatrusoms¹, a battery of seven guns, and two small batteries adjoining of 3 and 2 guns; but then, at a proper distance from the enemies works, I was to form a detachment of 50 of my men to amuse another battery, and so draw off the enemy to the defence of that whilst I entered with my men, which, when the detachment seeing, were to rejoin me; and the Emmer of Bengall with his army was to attack that part towards Chandernagur. Thus, when we had made ourselves masters of their works, we were to turn the guns on the enemy, and the next day to take the Nabob prisoner.

Thus had the father laid out the work, and after this manner was Chandarnager to be taken. So eager was the fryar in pursuing the design that (altho' it was pretty late) he would not give himself respite till the morrow, but must needs shew me into the armoury, where were military weapons enough to arm six hundred men complete with carbine, bayonet and granado²; besides a vast number of stink pots,

¹ This name, which has apparently been misread by the copyist, is entirely baffling.

² Grenade, a small shell of iron or glass.

and a most barbarous sort of partizan¹, the blades being near six inches broad and upwards of sixteen long. These were all new, lately made by his order, he keeping 4 or 5 forges continually going in his yard, so that he hath in a manner quite turned the church into an arsenal; from hence the father conducted me to my chamber, and very lovingly wish'd me a good repose.

But see the transitory changes of things in this world. Rising next morning and going to the father, not doubting but to meet him in the same chearful humour he had so lovingly caressed me over night with, but on the contrary found him so crabbed and cross that he would hardly vouchsafe me an answer. I ask'd him for my men. He told me he'd give me none. I shew'd him my authority. He said he cared not for it. I ask'd for his palankeen to go to the Emmer of Bengal in. He told me I might go on foot; and so brother captain and brother captain parted.

I was so highly provok'd with this usage that I told my resentment to the Emmer in the most agreeable manner I could, but had not half finish'd ere the father arrived. I rallied him pretty handsomely before the general, telling him it became not his function to appear in arms; it was downright perjuring himself in the second vow of his Order; that my profession was the sword, which I would freely lend him, if he would leave with me as a pledge his hood and mass book; he then might go on in his designs, and gorge himself in the blood of those he so eagerly thirsted after.

I found the fiyar was extremely nettled, but he, having the Moor's tongue fluent, talk'd a considerable time to the Emmer, tho' what he said I know not. But the Emmer would by all means make us friends before we parted, and accordingly taking the father's hand and mine in his own, he join'd them together, and I freely forgave the priest, but would not go with him home (tho' the Emmer desired, and I excused it), least he should give [me] some more of his Sacrament wine, or else clap me into the Inquisition.

¹ A long-handled spear, the blade of which had one or more lateral cutting projections.

The Emmer ordered me then a large brick house in the Bandell¹, and a horse or palankeen constantly to attend me, sending me at meal times pelows and rich serbets², that I lived with great satisfaction; but nothing coming in, and I constantly putting him in mind of his promise, he fairly told me that he could not take any men from the padra [*sic*] by reason that the Dewan had made him paymaster and commander-in-chief of the Christian soldiers; but altho' I had no men and came singly to him without a company, yet he would take care of me and allow me the same as if I had, and that if I could raise any Europeans that were not in the fryar's service, he would allow them 35 rupces per month. All this past and I set up for recruiting, when all the Europeans in general (whereof there were not a few of my countrymen) came, desiring me to head them, they not caring to serve under the Portuguese captains with whom they were placed, but wanted a commander of their own nation; but I told them, "Gentlemen, I understand that you are upon the padre's books, and therefore will have nothing to do with you till such time as you are clear from his service, but those that are not concerned with the priest and have received no money from him, if they are willing to enter, I will willingly entertain them"; and thus I dismissed them from my lodgings.

Whilst I was thus recruiting, an accident and misfortune attended me through the instigation of the father, which was as followeth: one evening walking out with a friend to refresh ourselves, we called in at the church of the Paulistans³ and

¹ The Bandel, the Portuguese colony at Hügli, is described by Burnell later on

² Pilau, Pers *palão*. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Pillau, for the composition of this dish.

Serbets, sherbets, syrups, prepared drinks. (*Ibid.*, s.v. Sherbet.)

³ The Jesuit Fathers were known as Paulistans from their great College of São Paulo de Santa Fé at Goa. According to Father H. Hosten, S.J., who has examined the matter with much care, the Jesuit house at Hügli never rose to be more than a small "collegium" or residence, with two or three fathers and occasionally a lay brother. The last rector, Father George Deistermann, S.J., died in 1740. Abbate Ripa, who came to Hügli in 1709, describes the church as very pretty. Father Francisco Laynes, S.J., the fifth Bishop of Mylapore, was buried before the High Altar in 1715. At the time of the visit of Father J. Treffenthaler, S.J., in 1765, the College was in ruins, and is so indicated in his plan ("*Aedes sacra collapsa Soc.*

paid a visit to the father, who was of the Order of Jesus. He shewed us the church and what was else deserving remark, after which we took our leaves and thank'd him for his civility. We were hardly got three stones cast from the convent, but a black rascally Portugueze brush'd up along by me, and with a jerk snatch'd the sword from my side, the hilt being silver and something valuable. I immediately turned round to pursue the villain, and was unexpectedly knock'd down with a blunderbuss, but getting up again as well as I could, was immediately surrounded with 12 or 13 men, and among them the rascal that had my sword, which being willing to recover, I made up to him, but he having a pistol in the other hand snapp'd it at me, but it not going off, I presently [immediately] run in with him and grappled ere he could have time to recover and cock it; but I was soon made to lose my hold by a fellow behind, who knock'd me down with a firelock, which with the blow broke over my head. I had them upon me then thick and three fold banging and basting me most nobly, till such time as the fellow was gone off with the sword, and then they also march'd off in a body. My friend, who had stood by all the while begging them for God's sake not to kill me, without ever coming to my assistance, I was going to fall foul of, had he not pacified me with good words, telling me it was better as it was, for if a sword had been drawn in my defence, one or both had certainly been murdered, it being impossible to resist so many.

They being all Portugueze soldiers belonging to the father, to him I made my complaint, desiring justice and my sword again, which he promis'd me I should have on the morrow, and that they should be severely punished for the riot; but he was not so good as his word, for I never saw the sword

Jesu"). The author of *Asiaticus: in Two Parts* (1803) avers that the foundations of the "Cathedral Church of St. Paul" were to be seen in his day; but the Jesuit Church was in point of fact never a Cathedral and was dedicated to Our Lady of the Nativity. There are now no traces of either Church or College, but the connection of the Jesuits with Hügli, which began in 1640, is perpetuated by the São Paulo garden, which is in the possession of the Augustinian Fathers of the Bandel Convent. (See articles by Father Hosten in *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. vi, p. 218; vol. x, pp. 64-70; vol. xxvi, pt. 1, p. 77.)

after, but on the contrary was credibly inform'd it was done by the padre's orders.

By this time I had raised 29 or 30 men, which having entered on the roll, I carried them before the Emmer of Bengall, who approving them gave me orders to return to the father and receive their advance money, he being paymaster of all the Europe men in general. I accordingly went, and when I came there, the father told me he had no money for my men, but that the Emmer had inform'd him he designed to pay them himself as a separate company. The next day I went to the Emmer and told him what the father had said, who seemed troubled in his countenance and told me he never mentioned any such thing but had given him positive orders to pay them, and thereupon remanded me back to him again.

Being come to my lodgings, I dismissed my men to their several quarters, and sent my servant to inform the father I would wait on him after dinner, which being ended, I accordingly went, having three of my men along with me, tho' none of them armed; nor was I myself, any more than my sword. When I came to the convent I found the father at cards with some of his Portugeuze captains, there being a concourse of them sitting round a great table.

I told him I came for money, and that I was sent with a positive order to be paid my advance that evening. He told me he would pay me no money unless I brought an order from the Dewan, who was the Emer of Bengal's master, and thereupon gave me scurrilous language, which so highly provoked me that I called the fryar an old designing rogue, which intolerable indignity flung in the face of a father of the church, letting fly the reins of an ungovernable passion, up they rose upon me one and all, crying "Kill the dog, kill the dog." Vast numbers of others came flocking from all parts of the convent to assault me, so that in an instant I had ninety or a hundred drawn swords against me at once. The father had run into his chamber to fetch his weapons of war, who presently appeared at the head of three other fryars in the robes of their Order, all armed with sword and target¹. Mean-

¹ A small buckler or shield

while a Portugeze making a cut at my head, it was fended off by one of my men receiving it half through his cane, and the padra going to second the blow I grasp'd his sword in my hand, which he drawing through, gave me a small mark to remember him.

I had presence of mind enough to consider if I had but made an offer to draw, I should have been cut down ere my sword could be free from the scabbard. Seeing I was hemm'd round with such a multitude, and several tugging to get it from me, I easily loos'd my hold and let them take it, being sensible the doctrine of nonresistance was most proper at the present juncture. When they found they had disarmed me they were pretty easy, and then were for pushing me out of the church head foremost. When I came into the porch I sent in to the father, desiring the restoring of my sword, promising to be the author of no disturbance with it, [and] had it accordingly sent me. I went home and bound up my hand, and had not been reposed above two hours when news was brought me that the padre had sent for all my men and told them, if they would relinquish my service and take arms under him, he would immediately pay them, which all but five accepted of, being forced thereto (as several of them told me after) by necessity; and thus was I baulk'd of my company.

Having seriously reflected on these misfortunes and having secret information that the father design'd me a dose, I began to have some thoughts towards travel, and to see what I could do elsewhere, which I accordingly concluded on; but before I proceed, I shall say something concerning the Chinchura, Hugley, Golgutt and the Bandell, and then proceed onwards with my voyage.

Description of Chinchura

The Chinchura or Dutch settlement is bounded on the north by Hugly, and on the south by Chandernagore; on the east it hath the river, and on the west lieth open to the country. It is a large town chequer'd with diversity of streets, and a multitude of good buildings. The factory stands at the

south end and is the residence of the Directorate, who is the principal factor the Dutch have in Bengal, having under him several out factories, as those of Cassimbuzar, Dacca, Rogio-moall¹ and Patna. The factory is large and encompass'd round with a very high wall, on the N.W. corner of which is a sort of a bastion, whereon are guns mounted, and in the center of the front curtain a large port [gate] which maintains a guard, here belonging a company of soldiers with their respective officers for the defence of the place, and from the port to the river a noble broad walk raised, lined on each side with a lofty row of stately trees; at the end thereof is the flagstaff².

The river is thus high navigable with the tide for ships of 6 or 700 tons burthen, they riding before the factory in 8 and 10 fathom water; it is seldom without Europe shipping, notwithstanding the effects they yearly export to Batavia. The next remarkable is the Dutch repository [cemetery] to the westward of the factory, being a large square place inclosed with a brick wall, full of tombs in variety of forms, some large, others of a smaller magnitude, but mostly ruinate.

Description of Hughley

Hugley is a large populous city and Moors garrison, seated in the latitude of [] degrees [] minutes north. The houses but indifferent³, as in most places of the Eastern globe, but the merchants make in some measure a more splendid appearance, whose shops are splendidly set out with all sorts of rich and costly commodities.

The great buzar or main street is of most remark⁴ extending near three-quarters of a mile. You enter it from the Chin-

¹ Rājmaḥal, but the Dutch do not appear to have had a factory at this place. For a description of the Dutch factory at Kāsimbāzār (Cassimbuzar), see *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, vol. 1, p. 365.

² Compare Gautier Schouten's description of the Dutch factory at Chinsura, quoted in *Bengal Dist. Gaz. Hooghly*, p. 57; see also a further description in 1721 (*op. cit.*, p. 282).

³ Bowrey, however, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 167, says that "the towne or city of Hugly is a famous and sumptuous place, adorned with many fine structures."

⁴ See *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

chery [Chinsura] through two large gateways including in the vacancy a square building running from gate to gate¹, serving formerly as stables for the horse belonging to the garrison, and in the center or midway between the gates a small mosque, tho' it is, as well as the whole building in general, mostly ruinate.

In the northernmost of these two ports was posted a company of Europe soldiers in the late wars, mostly upon the merchants account, they keeping guard and shutting up their gates every night at the usual hours, though they were but of small defence to them, being inch and half plank and made to turn upon wooden hinges.

From the port all the remaining length of the street is the buzar, furnish'd on each side with stalls and shops well furnish'd and stock'd with a universality of commodities that the buyer may provide himself at all times with, whatever his occasions require, as well European as Indian vendibles.

At the upper end of the buzar is situated the castle² in a low sandy soil, being bounded to the eastward with the river. It is in form an irregular pentagon of four round bulwarks, one angle having none, and hath two ports; the main is fronting to the buzar, which is large and spacious, having two new intrenchments cast up without it, in which are mounted a small number of patteraroes and murderers³. The passage between the intrenchments is secur'd with a great chain, and in the port stands fronting the street a large hoop gun as big as a demi cannon, tho' it carries a shot not above two inches and a half diameter; it is of the country make, being almost as thick at the bore as it is at the breech, compacted of a great number of iron hoops for the bore, then laid round with iron bars for the length of the gun, and lastly those bound over or cas'd with other hoops of the same metal all worked together at the forge, like the iron bars in a large anchor, they being

¹ 'This was probably the building used as a choultry "or free lodgings" house in Bowrey's day (*Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 167).

² For the supposed remnants of the fort, built by the Portuguese, see *Bengal Dist. Gaz. Hooghly*, p. 272.

³ Pattararo or pedrero, a small gun. Murderer or morderer, a name given to a small cannon or mortar of the period.

excellent artists at it; and by report they are very good proof.

They have another small battery or two on the rampier near the gate, mounted with old demi culverin, and saker, and likewise several long and swivel guns of the country make, some in carriages and some without, lying down in the yard, tho' no other mounted on the works, the rampiers not being broad enough to admit them; yet there is a parapet cast up on the edge of the rampier, with loop holes for the bowmen and small arms. In the castle is a large yard or green, at the east end of which is the governor's apartment and a new edifice carrying on, which when finished will be a pretty compact dwelling, behind which is the other gate, small in comparison of the former. This lets towards the river, where the slope or talud [?] talus] is carried up much higher than in other places. The castle is seated pretty near the middle of the city, there being two other gates on its northern limits, through which you pass to the Bandell.

Golgutt the English Factory at Hughley

Golgutt, an English factory, subordinate under Calcutta, is seated in the city of Hugly on the banks of the river¹, it here forming itself into a cove, being deep water, ships riding 16 and 18 fathom not a stones cast off shore. Being landed and ascended the bank, you enter the factory through a large gate beautified and adorned with pillars and cornishes in the chanam [plaster] work, and on the top of all is the flag-staff,

¹ The English factory at Hügli, in existence by 1651, was established on the river at Gholghāt, which comprised the old town of Hügli. A second factory was erected after 1656 a quarter of a mile higher up the river. In the hostilities of 1686-7 the old factory was burnt down. After the war Charnock settled at Sütānūtī and the factory at Gholghāt was practically abandoned. It then became the headquarters of the New (or English) Company until its amalgamation with the Old (or London) East India Company in 1704. Thenceforward the Gholghāt factory went gradually out of repair, and in April 1713 the Bengal Council decided to abandon it, seeing that a heavy expenditure would be necessary "to secure it from being washt away by the river." See *Bengal Dist. Gaz. Hooghly*, p. 273; Wilson, vol. II, pt. I, p. 114.

fixed into the brickwork, whereon they hoist St George's flag. Being entered the gate, you come into a small courtyard, on the right hand being a row of apartments, and on the left a viranda for the guard. You ascend into the house by steps, having under it two square cellars with staircases to descend. The hall is indifferent large. Besides two indifferent apartments with chimneys, there are other rooms and closets in the house, the whole consisting but of one story.

Behind the house is a garden, in which grows nothing but weeds. In the middle is an ugly well, and at one corner upon the wall is built a round sort of a business, like a sentry box but much larger. You ascend it by a narrow *chenam* staircase, which have no rails or fence to keep you from tumbling into the garden; and when entered, you see nothing worth observation having a door but never a window, tho' it yields an excellent echo, it being contrived, as I have been informed as a magazine for powder.

At the end of the garden are the ruins of several apartments, the roofs being fallen in, and indeed all the outhouses are in the like condition, of which there are several. You may ascend to the top of the factory by an old wooden staircase which is well terras'd, with seats all round and a small oblong place included [*?secluded*] by its self, from whence you have a prospect of the river. To conclude, it is an old, ugly, ill contrived edifice wherein is not the least spark of beauty, form, or order to be seen, being seated in a dull melancholy hole enough to give one the Hippocondra¹ by once seeing it. The Company have no factor at present that is resident here, being left in the charge of a molly² and two or three punes³, tho' in truth it is hardly worth looking after.

¹ Hypochondriasis, i.e. the vapours, the "blues."

² *Mālī*, gardener.

³ *Pcons*, messengers. See p. 103 n. 2.

Description of the Bandel

The Bandell I shall next describe and then conclude, it being the vilest, wickedest, and most profane spot of ground under the cope of heaven. All the sins that brought down vengeance from heaven on Sodom and Gomorrah are here daily and hourly practised without any detection or restraint, being a nest of banditti Portuguese who live without any manner of government, neither is one respected more than the other, but he that hath been guilty of the basest villany. Shooting a man and stabbing him asleep are here accounted honourable actions; neither is it much to be wondered at, were one but to reflect on the treacherous villanies that nation hath been so heinously guilty of these late years¹.

Being through the northern gate of Hugley, you have a fine walk to the Bandell of about half a mile, over a broad earth bank like a rampier, flung up to keep the river, which runs alongside it from overflowing. Being come into the town the first object that attacks the eye is the convent or priory belonging to the Order of St Augustin², whereof Father Francisco Pereoe³, my old antagonist, was incumbent; it is a large and spacious building, making a very agreeable prospect, being white washed and circumvolved with a brick wall, including the ground for the repository, in a corner of which stands a flagstaff belonging to the convent.

Adjoining is a large brick bridge of two or three arches⁴

¹ Compare Bowrey's account of the Bandel (Bandar) at Hügli (*Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 191-2), where the conditions described are very different from these found by Burnell some thirty-five years later.

² The Augustinians first settled at Bandel in 1599, and on 15 August of that year laid the first stone of their Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, the Convent being dedicated to St Nicholas of Tolentino. Both this Church and the Jesuit Church were destroyed in 1632 when Hügli was sacked by the "Moors." The author of *Asiaticus*, who may have obtained his information from the then Prior, says that the Convent was pulled down in 1640 and "rebuilt by that pious gentleman John Gomes de Soto." Father Hoston (*Bengal Past and Present*, vol. ix, p. 52) holds that the existing Church dates from 1676.

³ ? Pereira

⁴ This bridge is shown in Father Tieffenthaler's plan of "Hugli Bandar," 1765.

standing over a dry dyke, but in the rain times it serves to carry the water from off the higher grounds. The town hath several streets and a great many very good houses, in one of which I lived. There is another church dedicated to St Paul belonging to the Jesuits Order, as I have before observed.

I shall now, Sir, proceed to what I before had resolved on, (i.e.) my travels, wherein I shall give you an account of a tour which I made up this river of near 300 miles. Therefore, Sunday, January the eleventh 1712/13, about 2 in the afternoon I embark'd in a willock¹ which I had hired for Moxidbad, my boats crew consisting of about six rowers and a steersman besides my servant. By four came abreast of Bockboreau², a small town, half a mile to the northward of which is Penmoree³, a hamlet and chokey where we took up our station for the night following.

¹ See note 2 on p. 130.

² Perhaps the Bansbaria of Rennell on the right bank of the river.

³ This place has not been identified

APPENDIX I

GOVERNOR JOHN RUSSELL

JOHN RUSSELL (1670-1735), who was President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal at the time of Burnell's visit, was the fourth and posthumous son of Sir John Russell (1640-1669), a Cambridgeshire baronet, and Frances Cromwell (1637-1720), the youngest and favourite daughter of Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector, and widow of Robert Rich. He was elected a factor for the East India Company on 22 November 1693 and arrived in Bengal on 3 December 1694. On 2 February 1704 he was appointed fourth in the United Company's Council: and succeeded Anthony Weltden as President on 7 March 1711. On Thursday, 3 December 1713, "having already committed the Company's cash and all under his charge to the care of Robert Hedges, Esqr., and not being charged with any debt in the Company's books," he embarked for Europe on board the *Marlborough*, which sailed from the Sandheads on 9 December. He reached England in August 1714: and a year later, on 7 September 1715, being then of Duke Street, St James's, married Joanna, the sole daughter and heiress of John Thurban of Chequers and Alsborough in Buckinghamshire (a serjeant-at-law), and widow of Colonel Edmund Revett, who fell at the battle of Malplaquet. Hence it comes about that Chequers, which, through the liberality of Lord and Lady Lee of Fareham, has become the official country residence of the Prime Minister of England, is celebrated for its relics of the Cromwell family. These include the Protector's death-mask and also his clothes, jackboots, sword, and watch.

Joanna Revett was John Russell's second wife. His first wife Rebecca Eyre, whom he married on 17 December 1697, was a sister of Sir Charles Eyre, Governor of Fort William from 1695 to 1701 and husband of Job Charnock's daughter Mary, who lies buried with her father and sister in the ancient

graveyard of St John's Church, Calcutta. Madam Russell, as she was termed, died at Chandernagore on 14 April 1713, and was buried in Calcutta on the following day. Her four children accompanied their father to Europe on the *Marlborough*. Mary and Elizabeth returned to Bengal in 1728. The former married Josiah Holmes a few months after her arrival and died at Kāsimbāzār on 30 August 1732: the latter married Samuel Greenhill in the same year (1728). Governor Russell's eldest daughter, Frances, became bedchamber woman to the Princess Amelia, daughter of George the Second, and married John Revett, the son of her stepmother. Charles Russell, the Governor's son (1701-1754), who was a colonel in the Army, married a sister of John Revett, and Chequers passed to her in succession to her sister-in-law Frances. Her son, Sir John Russell (1741-1783), was the eighth baronet, and was the father of the ninth and tenth baronets. The tenth baronet died unmarried in 1804, when the title became extinct, and the Chequers property came into the possession of the children of Elizabeth Greenhill, who was (as we have seen) a daughter of Governor Russell¹.

Governor Russell's nephew Sir Francis Russell, the sixth baronet (1697-1743), who was the second son of his elder brother Sir William Russell, the fourth baronet, was also in the service of the East India Company and arrived in Bengal in 1716. In 1728 he became Chief at Kāsimbāzār and in 1731 a member of Council at Fort William, returning in 1741 to Kāsimbāzār. He succeeded to the baronetcy in 1738, and died intestate at Calcutta on 26 February 1743. On 15 February 1728 he had married Ann, daughter of Zachariah Gee (a free merchant); and this lady survived him and married Thomas Holmes (a merchant at Calcutta) on 30 November 1744. She kept her former style of address: for in William Wills' map of the Settlement in 1753, the house of "Lady Russell" is plainly marked on the site of the Mission Church in what is now known as Mission Row. Lady Russell was one of

¹ The history of the Russell family has been carefully traced in the second volume of Dr C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* (vol. II, pt. I, pp. 325-333).

the party who were sent down the river in boats when Fort William was attacked by Sirāj-ud-daula in June 1756, and it would seem that she died at Fulta, for her will, dated 24 August 1756, was proved in the Mayor's Court in the following year. Her only son, Sir William Russell the seventh baronet, died in 1757 at the age of twenty three.

Another of Governor Russell's nephews was Henry Frankland (1684-1728), the son of his sister Elizabeth and Sir Thomas Frankland, second baronet, of Thirkleby in Yorkshire. Henry Frankland was Governor of Fort William from 1726 to 1728. He died in Calcutta on 23 August 1728, and his son Charles Henry Frankland (baptized in Calcutta on 6 June 1716, died 11 January 1768) succeeded his uncle as fourth baronet in 1748 and was for many years Collector of the Port of Boston in Massachusetts and also Consul-General at Lisbon, where he narrowly escaped death in the earthquake of 1755. Among the Frankland family portraits, which were sold at Christie's on 14 July 1930, were those of the Protector and his son Richard Cromwell, and also a portrait of a young man in a white Mogul dress richly embroidered with flowers and a turban surmounted by an aigrette, holding a shield in his left hand and with a hooka in the corner. The words "Henry 1733" are inscribed in the top right hand-corner of the canvas and the name Zoffany is painted on the frame. It was catalogued as the portrait of Governor Frankland, but Henry Frankland died (as has been stated) in Calcutta in 1728, and since Zoffany was not born until 1733, he could hardly have been the painter. Sir Charles Henry Frankland is probably the person represented in an Indian dress which he brought from Calcutta with him when he went to Europe with his mother in 1725. William Frankland (1721-1805), whose portrait by Mather Brown was also sold, was another of Governor Frankland's sons. He arrived in Bengal with a writership in 1740, and at the time of the siege and capture of Calcutta was Sixth of Council and Import Warehouse Keeper.

APPENDIX II

CAPTAIN HERCULES COURTNEY

WHILE at Calcutta Burnell made the acquaintance of Captain Hercules Courtney, "a gentleman that had been very serviceable to the Company in the wars at Fort St David, but had run through the same misfortune as myself, being cashier'd a little before me at Madderass. He coming hither for employ, but meeting with disappointments, laid hold of the opportunity of going up to Hugley where the Moors were embroiled in a war. He entering into the service of Juda Con, managed the face of affairs so well that it much enlarged his credit, receiving from the Nabob several rich presents for his good service, tho' not so much as was before promis'd him, upon which in a disgust he left them, and was but lately arrived at Calcutta." As we have seen, Courtney advised Burnell to go up to Hügli and take service under the "Emmer of Bengal."

It was felt that there must be references to the turbulent and varied career of Captain Hercules Courtney in the records at the India Office: and the search was undertaken by Miss L. M. Anstey. No mention of Courtney is to be found in the *Bengal Consultations* before 1724: but the *Court Minutes*, the *Miscellanies*, and the *Fort St George Diary and Consultations*, yielded much interesting matter.

On 3 November 1708, a proposal was made to the Court of Directors by Mr Hercules Courtney for the "raising of a company of soldiers"—in Ireland, as a later entry of 9 February 1708/9 shows. The proposal was accepted. On 10 November 1708, Hercules Courtney of London, gentleman, was formally appointed by the "Court of Managers for the United Trade of the English Company trading to the East Indies" to be "a Lieutenant of a Company of British foot souldiers to be sent out in our service to our garrison of Fort St. George on the coast of Cormandel." The company was

duly raised, and the sum of £194 was paid to Courtney on 11 February 1708/9.

The next important entry in the Court Minutes is dated 6 April 1709. Courtney had proceeded to Plymouth to take his passage in the *Heathcote* and had there met with a newly-elected writer, Fleet Aynesworth who was also on his way out. Aynesworth refused to "keep" the company of Courtney "because he disliked his fiery temper," whereupon Courtney "beat and abused" him and, "had not some persons interposed, would have killed him." Now Aynesworth was a grandson of Sir John Fleet, an alderman and one of the Directors of the E. India Co., and the commander, Captain Joseph Tolson, sent Sir John a letter of complaint. This was laid before the Court of Directors of the United Company ("which is now the title of that was formerly called the Court of Managers") and Captain Tolson was informed that "the Court highly resent" the conduct of Captain Courtney, and "had it not been in respect of his relations and friends, would have dismissed him their service." They contented themselves, however, with ordering his transfer to the *Halifax* and with informing her commander, Captain Henry Hudson, of the reason.

On 22 September 1709, Hercules Courtney and Alexander Fulerton appeared before the Council at Fort St George and "produced the Right Honble. Companys commission for lieutenants in their service." Courtney's commission was deposited with the Governor, Gulston Addison (a brother of Joseph Addison), but he died on 17 October, and it became necessary, on 7 November, to sign and issue a new commission, appointing Courtney "lieutenant of the second company of soldiers at Fort St. David."

We next hear of him on 14 March 1709/10, when at a consultation held at Fort St George on that day:

They [the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St David] advise us of a quarrel that happened on the 23rd January last between Hercules Courtney and John Roach, since which time the said Courtney has been under confinement, the Deputy Governor &c. there not thinking it safe to trust him with his

own liberty, he having resisted the guards three severall times and has continued insolent in speech and behaviour ever since.

A report was ordered, and was considered at a consultation of 27 March 1710. It was unanimously resolved, "this being the third hainous crime he has been guilty of since his arrivall here," that Courtney "be forthwith broke" and declaired "incapable of serving the Company either in this garrison or any other place subordinate thereto."

On 25 August 1710, the sentence was revoked and Courtney restored to his former post and station on his "delivering in his humble petition . . . and therein acknowledging his former faults and . . . promising a very civil carriage and behaviour for the future."

On 21 March following (1710/11), Captain Roach with the party he brought from Fort St George, and Captain Courtney with about 100 men and 200 peons, were ordered to march from Fort St David into the Waldore¹ country. The object of the expedition is stated in a letter addressed to Captain Roach:

Whereas we have wrote severall letters to Surrup Sing [Sarūp Singh] and the rest of the officers at Chingee [Jinjī], besides sending our Egib [*hajib*, agent] to demand the persons of Captain Hugonin and Ensigne Reay who were treacherously seized upon and carried prisoners to Chingee, where they have been unjustly detain'd since the 10th of June last², but receiving no answers from them to our satisfaction, it evidently appears that they doe not intend to release the unfortunate captives who are in misery and in irons and make continuall complaints of hardships and very barbarous usage they receive at Chingee under the chau-buck [*chābuk*, whip], and being forc'd to stand in the sun till they are almost faint and dead, and not allowed a little water to refresh them: and since all fair means hitherto has proved ineffectuall, it is certain that nothing but force will obtaine their enlargement . . . for which reason these are therefore to order

¹ Valudāyūr, about ten miles west of Pondicherry.

² For the history of the rupture between the English at Fort St David and the Musalman Governor of Jinjī, see Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, vol. II, pp. 151-176; see also *South Arcot Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 44-46.

you...to march into the Waldore country to seize any persons or inhabitants of note that belong to Surrup Sing, as also to use *all manner of hostility* in that country and against any that shall dare to oppose you...

From the narrative of Captain John Roach, dated 22 March 1710/11, it would appear that the expedition was not at first attended with success. The fort was attacked at three points, but after an hour's engagement "all the Waldore forces appear'd in sight, both horse and foot, when wee drew off our men to face them" and "skirmished with them for about seven or eight hours without the loss of a man." But "our cooleys were so base that when wee engaged the Moors in the plain, they all deserted us, and our peons were so bad that they durst not look the enemy in the face." Further, "wee had both of our great gunns disabled before the fort, one split and the other carriage was broke, so that, for want of cooleys to bring them off, we [were] forced to nail them up."

In a letter dated 30 June 1711, from Fort St David to Fort St George, details of further operations are given.

On Monday night last Captain Roach with his party from Fort St. George and Captain Courtney with about 100 men and 4 or 500 peons marcht out to a place called Yembolum, which is Mohobat Cawnes [Mahābat Khān's] towne... They came upon the towne about thre in the morning, surprizing the inhabitants and burning said village, on sight whereof Mohobat Cawnes forces of horse and foot came out from Waldore, advancing as *neare our people as they well could with safety, the better to enanimate [sic] and encourage their bundelees [bhandarts, militiamen] who with their long pieces and Europe powder (as is supposed) galld our people from the bushes where they lay hid at a very great distance, but our rifled barrell pieces and some long gunns being fired at them made them retire farther off...* Last night we received advice that Somantraw Buxee [Sornāth Rao, *bakhshī*] from Chingee is arrived with some horse and foot at Waldore, by which means Mohobutt Cawnes power ceases.

On 30 August, 11 September, and 17 September, various skirmishes are reported in which Captain Courtney played a prominent part. On 27 September news was sent to Fort St George that "our prisoners are out of irons." In a badly

damaged letter of December 1711, there is an account by Captain Roach of an attack made on 29 November upon the enemy's camp at Trevindaporum¹ "about five miles from our bounds." There is mention of the name of Captain Courtney but it is not possible to discover what part he took in the encounter.

On 25 January 1711/12 a general letter of the 20th from Fort St David was received at Fort St George, describing an attack made upon an entrenchment of the enemy at Crimumbaucum [Krimambākkam] "about half way between that place [Fort St David] and Pondicherry." This seems to have been a very gallant affair, successfully carried out by Courtney and Captain Hawson with sixty grenadiers.

Courtney had, however, again got into serious trouble. On 28 January 1711/12 the President at Fort St George acquainted the Board that the Deputy Governor [Robert Raworth] and Council of Fort St David had sent up Lieutenant Courtney, Ensign Brooks and Serjeant Peterson as prisoners. According to the general letter, which is dated 24 and 25 January:

On Tuesday last [22 January] Captain Courtney having din'd with the [Deputy] Governor, went, as he was accustom'd, into [Mr] Welds rooms where was sitting Ensign Paddle; [he] walk'd backwards and forwards for some time without speaking a word but at last attack'd him in a very odd sort of a manner telling him he was an impudent fellow, son of a Whor[e], Skip Jack, and us'd abundance of other epithets improper for a man that bares a commission to utter or take: but Padle, it seems, regarding the place he was in and not caring to make any disturbance under Mr Raworths roof, bore it very patiently till Courtney at last drew and assaulted him, and before the guard could come in to qu[iet] the disturbance had wounded Padle about an inch and a halfe deep in the belly and [again. . .] in the left temple.

Accompanying the letter were declarations by Matthew Weld and Henry Cottrell, the latter of whom had already on 29 May 1711 complained of the "Irish impudence" of Courtney in calling him "dog, villain, and rascal, words unfitting to be used and given to any in the presence of the Deputy Governor,

¹ Tiruvendipuram, 4½ miles west of Cuddalore.

especially in his lodgings before so much company belonging both to the sea and shoar." A petition was also appended bearing 49 signatures of those who had "served [under] the command of Captain Hercules Courtney all these troubles," asking that he be restored to his former position. It was in connection with the presentation of this petition, which Courtney "did write...with his own hand," that Brooks and Peterson were arrested and charged.

Courtney was brought up before the Council at Fort St George on 29 January 1711/12, and admitted his guilt "of all layd to his charge except falling upon the Ensign before his sword was out:" but asked for pardon and reinstatement on account of "his behaviour in time of action and particularly upon the last attack upon the enemy's intrenchments at Crimmbaucum." But the Council resolved that his commission should be "taken from him, that he be for ever incapable of serving the Company in any of their settlements, and that he be detain'd prisoner till we have an opportunity to dispose better of him, lest his ill principles should carry him over to the enemy where he is capable of doing us infinite mischief."

Ensign Brooks, "being a poor easy fellow that has served the Company well many years," was first dismissed but afterwards reinstated. As for Serjeant Sybrand Peterson, "who is an extraordinary man in his employ, finding upon examination that he was a foreigner unskill'd in our language and seduced by Courtney, not knowing the nature of the petition he got sign'd, after some months' imprisonment we restored him to his halbert, such men being very scarce among us" (*Despatches to England, 1711-1714*, p. 67).

After three months' imprisonment Courtney addressed the following petition to the Governor and Council at Fort St George:

The Petition of Hercules Courtney

Humbly sheweth

That your petitioner having in great measure tasted of your Honours generosity, imboldens him further to crave your goodness for an enlargement to the Inner Town only in the day time,

and to return to his present lodgings at night, promising a good behaviour and his ready appearance whenever your Honour shall command, and your petitioner shall as in duty bound pray. Fort St George, April the 21st 1712.

The request was granted "upon condition that he returns into the Inner Fort every night by nine a clock and commits no irregularitys" (*Diary and Consultations Book of Fort St George*, 1712, pp. 79, 80).

Either the Fort St George Council was anxious to be rid of so turbulent an offender as Courtney, or else it misjudged the prisoner, for, means of escape being afforded him, he proceeded to take advantage of them and made his way to Bengal.

It must have been before the time that Courtney had "the enlargement to the Inner Town" by day that he made the acquaintance of Burnell, who had reached Madras in July 1711 and was out of favour when Courtney was brought from Fort St David for trial. In May 1712 Burnell was dismissed the Company's service, and when he reached Bengal in November of that year he found Courtney installed at Calcutta. There is no mention of either adventurer at this date in the Bengal Consultations, and beyond what Burnell tells us of Courtney and his desire to join the "Emmer of Bengal" we know nothing of that worthy at this period.

There is, in fact, a gap in his history until 1 December 1721, when he reappears in London and submits a petition to the Court of Directors, "setting forth that he served the Company in their land forces on the Coast, and afterwards by desire of the Governor and Council was a volunteer in the Moors service for the Mogull and praying to be entertained again in India." The petition was referred to the Committee of Shipping, and upon their report Courtney was, on 10 January 1721/22, "entertained a Lieutenant for Bombay." On 7 March he was "permitted to carry with him to Bombay on the *Hannover* his wife and a maid servant, paying the charge of their passage onely": and on 16 March it was resolved, "in consideration of his former services in India... that one hundred pounds be advanced him, to be deducted out of his growing wages, upon giving his bond to oblige the same and

his effects to be answerable for that summ." It was ordered also that a clause should be inserted in the general letter to Bombay "to give Captain Courtney the command of a company of souldiers to be made up of those now there and sending by the ships going out." Courtney appears to have lived down his previous reputation, for in a Minute of the Committee of Correspondence, dated 1 March 1721/22, it is stated that "the Company are well satisfied with Captain Courtneys courage formerly in India," and that "as he proposes to do great things" the Council at Bombay is to "employ him for a tryall against Angria or on any other expedition, and as he behaves himself, to station him as they think fitt." On 24 March Courtney took his leave of the Court, "humbly assuring them he would do his utmost endeavour to merit the continuance of their favour to him."

The *Hannover* in company with the *Prince Frederick* set sail from the Downs on 1 April 1722 and anchored in Madras road on 11 August, having been obliged by bad weather to take the "outward passage" by Cape Comorin. She left Madras on 17 October and reached Bombay on 10 November. While at Fort St George Courtney obtained, on 5 September, an advance of 200 pagodas for "a subsistence of the Bombay souldiers," who were reported by Captain John Bond of the *Hannover* to be "in a weak consition."

Courtney's arrival in Bombay proved embarrassing to the Council. The following entry is taken from the "Consultation in Bombay Castle" of 12 November 1720:

Taking into consideration the difficulty our Honble. Masters have laid us under by directing Captain Courtney [to command] a company of soldiers, in prejudice of several officers upon the place, it is debated whether or no doing it at this juncture, during the Portuguese disputes and the warr with Angria, may not lay us under great inconveniencys. It is agreed to leave it to the Governor to act as he finds the circumstances of affairs will admit.

Courtney, for his part, soon became dissatisfied. In their summarized general letter of 29 January 1722/23 (some two months later) the Bombay Council inform the Court that:

Captain Courtney not satisfy'd with his independent company of marines, says he was promis'd the chief command of all; has liv'd expensively, which cant now bear, and brought out a family, and will be under great streights if any part of his pay be stopt to satisfy the £100 advanced; pray may not be put under the like difficultys again.

The last sentence is suggestive: and on 26 April 1723 we reach the climax:

Captain Hercules Courtenay requesting, by a Memorial now given in, to quitt this place in order to try his fortune at Bengall, it is agreed that his request be granted, forasmuch by reason of his turbulent and restless temper he can be of no service, but rather the contrary here; and by reason of his expensive way of living no likelihood from his pay of being able to discharge his debt of one hundred pounds to the Honble. Company, lent him in England; therefore, in our judgment it would be to no purpose detaining him on that account here.

Courtney had been little more than a year in Bengal, when he proceeded to give further trouble. The following extracts speak for themselves:

Extract of a Consultation held at Fort William

15 June 1724

"Being informed that Mr Courtenay had deserted Calcutta and that he was acting under the Emperours colours¹ in a military station, as it is directly contrary to a positive order given him by our Governor that he should upon no pretence resort to, or have any communication with any belonging to that residence, they being now in actuall and open wars with the Moors Government, it behoves to have a regard to an exact neutrality.

Agreed that a letter be sent Mr Courtney with a peremptory order to return hither immediately, and, that it may meet with a certain delivery, we appoint Ensign Harding to goe up and deliver the same and that a copy of the letter be entered after this Consultation."

¹ Courtney had taken refuge with the Ostend Company, chartered in 1722 by the Emperor of Austria. Its headquarters were at Bankibāzār, three miles above Barrackpore, near the modern Paltā.

"To Mr Hercules Courtenay, Sir,

"Contrary to a possitive direction formerly given you that you should not resort to the Emperours Resident, now in open wars with the Moors Government, we are informed that you are actually there with your family, and as we are further informed, with intention to take arms under their colours, which is directly breaking in upon the neutrality which we are bound to observe during this warfare, according to the orders received from our Honble. Masters, which is consistent with severall Acts of Parliament and Declarations, that no British subject shall serve under the colours of any nation whatsoever in the East Indies, we send you these our possitive directions that you immediatly repair to Calcutta, that at youi peril you remain noe longer where you are. We expect a punctuall obedience to these our just commands, and are

Your loving Friends

JOHN DEANE & Councill"

Fort William

the 15 June 1724.

Extract of a Consultation held at Fort William

22 June 1724

"Agreable to an order of last Consultation, Ensign Harding went and delivered Mr Courtenay the order from the Board to return hither, which he refused to obey in a very insolent manner, and a day or two after he wrote a letter to the Governor and Council, copy of which is entered after this Consultation.

As Mr Courtenay in his letter has made some specious pretences for his withdrawing, we think it necessary to obviate them by relating of plain matter of fact.

His deniall of the Governors forbidding him to have any resort to, or correspondence with, the Emperours people is directly false, the Governor having in the hearing of Messrs Lloyd, Coales and Barwell possitively enjoined him not to goe at different times, besides the publick notice that was given all people by orders affixt to the Fort Gates.

The complaint he makes of his ill usage from Mr Surman is without foundation, Mr Surman having never had any dealings with him but, as the duty of his place [as Import Warehousekeeper] obliged him, has, on complaints from people here, sent for Mr Courtenay and reprimanded him for his ill behaviour here on severall occasions.

His being indebted to severall persons, we think the only reason for his leaving this place, being screened there from his creditors, and we wish he may find some means of discharging them."

[Copy of Captain Courtney's Letter]

"Honble. Sir and Gentlemen

I received your letter per Mr Harding and in answer to the first paragraph, I must possitively protest against having received any orders not to resort to the Emperours Generall (or Resident as you call him) and I am well assured you had as little reason to forewarn me of that affair as I thoughts of seeking his protection till, by repeated injuries, I was made sensible of the implacable malice design'd and ill treatment shewn me by Mr Surman the last instance of which I was very [?only] informed of that day I came away.

As for the second, I do hereby protest and declare against having born any [? arms] under his Imperial Majesty and am assured none that knows Mr Courtenay will believe he will serve in a mean station; but as my life is concern'd with the rest of the persons in this garrison, I must and will, both with my sword and advice, defend that, and would chuse ten thousand deaths rather than subject my self to support haughty usage, which too frequently I, as well as other gentlemen, received from the worthy person abovementioned.

And in reference to your third paragraph, you certainly must be sensible I owe you no obedience, tho' all good wishes, for tho' its true I formerly served the Honble. English Company with (I dare say) as much honour, success and merit as any ever yet in their service, and that I came out this last time with their Commission, yet notwithstanding, I had the Governor of Bombay's liberty to come to Bengall and still to

be continued in the Service, with a friendly and strenuous recommendation to your Honour and Mr Surman, and severall times offered my service. Notwithstanding, I was denied my [? any] post, pay or any means whereby to subsist, which, had it not bin for my own indefatigable industry, I should have found the fatall consequence of a potent enemy, who could never have reason to be so, had he been govern'd by a generous or genteel soul. And as for my answering it at my peril not going to Calcutta upon your summons, give me leave to assure your Honour &ca., I hope with a great deale of pleasure by the first opportunity to appear before my King and the face of my country, where, when call'd upon, shall be able to justifie this amongst the rest of the actions of my life, and where I shall with impatience wish for the honour to kiss Mr Surmans hand, but he may be well assured, wherever I see him, I shall convince him my education has taught me to treat him in a more genteel manner than he has done me.

I wish the Honble. East India Company all happiness and success, as I do your Honour &ca. Gentlemen of the Council that are my friends, and conclude with due respect, Honble. Sir &ca.

Your most humble servant

H. COURTENAY.

Denmamagur^r

June the 26th 1724 N.S.

P.S. I shall write more at large per first opportunity and hope your Honour &ca. will please to order both to be entered, that the Honble. Company may see my reasons for coming here; and if at any time I may have the favour of another letter, I hope, in respect to your selves, you will give me the treatment of a gentleman by foulding and addressing your letter, and that you will not be lead into methods by any unbred person at the Board to commit violence upon your own good nature, knowledge and good manners, as for my part I hope ever to retain the character of a mannerly, if not so happy [as] to deserve the name of a sensible, man."

^r Possibly Dinemardanga, "the land of the Danes," i.e. Gondalpara is meant. See note 3 on p. 136.

Extract of a Consultation held at Fort William
27 July 1724

"Mr Hercules Courtenay, now under the protection of the French at Chandenegur and shortly bound from [there] to Pondicherry, having in answer to the demands made on him by his creditors, wrote to our President desiring he would appoint some body to dispose of what effects he has here and pay the produce among his creditors.

Ordered therefore that Mr Matthew Wastell, Buxey, do take into his charge what effects there are in this place belonging to the said Hercules Courtenay and dispose of the same, and lay the account before the Board, that publick notice may be given and his creditors receive every one their proportion of what he has here may produce."

Extract of a Consultation held at Fort William
3 January 1725/6

"Mr Matthew Wastell, Buxey, now brought in the account of Captain Hercules Courtenay, the ballance of which being Rupees one thousand two hundred sixty seven, fifteen annaes nine pice was divided amongst his creditors here. . . .

Memorandum. There is still remaining out an
adventure to Siam per Captain Charles Ward 264 14 0
Respondentia lent Mr Calvert to England 228 0 0
Rupees 492 14 0"

(*Bengal Public Proceedings*, vol. v, pp. 139, 140, 141, 143, 171; vol. vi, pp. 266, 268.)

Extract of a Consultation held at Fort St George
18 August 1724

"General letters read, vizt.

No. 131. From the Honble. the President and Council of Fort William bearing date the 23d June...advising the proceedings of the Ostenders in Bengall....They add that

Mr Courtney having deserted Fort William was gone to the Ostenders, and desire us, if he comes within our jurisdiction, to secure him." (*Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St George*, 1724, p. 111.)

The last two extracts are characteristic of the times. In a general letter of 25 March 1724, to Bombay, the Court of Directors "cant think why you should not receive back the hundred pounds" from Courtney, "but leave to you the doing of it in a gentle manner." But on 17 February 1726/27 the Court wrote to Bengal:

When Captain Courtney went in our military service to Bombay, we advised the President and Council that we had at his going out advanced and lent him one hundred pounds, which he was to repay after. Letteis from thence say they could not get it, but only a bond and that he was retired to Bengall. Whether they advised you to recover it do's not appear. If they did not, [it] was a culpable omission, if they did, in you in not making him to pay. We find you have sold his effects then with you and divided them among his creditors, but no part to the Company. You write there are more standing out. If they are not already paid away, take care to attach them for our debt and receive the amount into cash towards reimbursing what he owes us. (*Letter Book*, vol. xx, p. 511.)

And so the curtain falls upon Captain Hercules Courtney.

E. C.

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